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THE INSIDE STORY



They don't build nukes like they used to.

Enter the "small" nuclear reactor

By Joseph R. Egan

Four decades after the birth of nuclear energy, the foundering American nuclear industry, aided by its allies in the government, is returning to the strategy that has repeatedly kept it afloat in times of crisis: It is looking to the third world for help.

The strategy was first employed during the final months of World War II, when a shortage of uranium and thorium threatened to stall the clandestine atomic-bomb project. The U.S. turned to the resource-rich third world for new supplies. Low-priced uranium ore was bought from the Belgian Congo and South Africa, thorium from India, Brazil, the Dutch East Indies, Ceylon and Madagascar.

Ten years later—when nuclear production, restricted to military uses, was lagging—President Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" program solved the problem by subsidizing nuclear exports. Now American nuclear manufacturers could go after new buyers in the third world and elsewhere. Within five years, the U.S. had agreements for nuclear trade and cooperation with 43 countries.

Nuclear sales to the third world really took off in the early '70s, just when orders for giant power reactors began to dwindle domestically. The U.S. "sweetened" many of the deals by employing advanced nuclear technologies, subsidizing financing and, in some cases, modifying safety features. As a result, nuclear plant sales to the third world reached record numbers. Now 16 developing countries have 49 power reactors either in operation, under construction or on order.

But by the late '70s, it seemed that even the third world market had been saturated. In 1977 a Ford Foundation/MITRE Corporation report titled "Nuclear Power: Issues and Choices," which formed the basis of

the Carter administration's nuclear policies, concluded that only "15 to 20 developing countries may find economic justification for nuclear power in this century."

The report contended that "large 1,000-megawatt nuclear power plants now being built to achieve economies of scale [in the industrialized countries] are not matched to the small power grids of most developing countries. More suitable, smaller plants [under 600 megawatts] would have significantly higher capital costs per kilowatt and, in the absence of demand, are no longer being built. For these reasons, nuclear power may be ruled out as an economic energy option for many developing nations."

Though it had already ruled out nuclear power as a feasible option for the third world, the Carter administration commissioned an international study of world nuclear prospects—designed, in part, to allay growing third world frustration at being denied sensitive U.S. nuclear technologies. As it turned out, the two-year study, performed by 66 nations and five international organizations, strongly endorsed the use of nuclear power in the third world. But the Carter administration was unperturbed, figuring that technical and economic constraints precluded the nuclear option in the third world anyway. It saw the study as little more than wishful thinking.

The Carter administration did not anticipate the rapid advances in power-systems technologies that would soon eliminate those constraints. Today, at a time when even Wall Street is reluctant to consider nuclear power a viable investment, new third world markets for novel reactor technologies could more than revive the American nuclear industry. "Small" reactors, tailored to the desires of third world utilities, are now being developed here, as well as in France, Japan, West Germany and Great Britain. The industry plans to avoid the high capital costs long associated with small reactors by using assembly-line production and prefabricated components. In most cases, these mini-reactors are being developed and marketed with governments' support.

A new era.

With the advent of small "prefab" reactors, we have entered a new and dangerous era of nuclear imperialism in which fierce competition among suppliers for third world markets will be waged. Based on the World Bank's latest projections, by 1990 at least 57 developing nations will have electrical systems large enough to permit installation of a mini-reactor, 72 countries by the year 2000—way over the Ford/MITRE estimate.

That brings up a policing problem. Even making the dubious assumption that the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the sole guardian of world safeguards against the proliferation of nuclear weapons, can adequately police existing civilian nuclear facilities, questions remain. Is the IAEA capable, for instance, of expanding to handle the influx of small reactors? The World Bank had once predicted a load increase involving no more than 15 new countries by 1990. What will happen if 30 or 40 new countries join the act?

For the third world, the issue goes beyond numbers. Small reactors will change the way nuclear technology is exported to developing nations. In fact, it will change the nature of nuclear technology itself. In general, conventional nuclear technology transfers to developing countries have been difficult, lengthy exercises, with some degree of third world participation in construction, operation and even design.

But the new, prefabricated reactors will involve lit-

tle, if any, third world participation or subcontracting. They will be introduced almost instantaneously to the purchasing nations. In most cases, the projects will be financed by foreign exchange. Regulatory, environmental, security and operating needs will require the rapid development of institutions and programs employing highly skilled labor—the bulk of which will be imported.

In other words, this new mode of introducing nuclear technology will contribute little to indigenous industrial development. And it will further impede the abilities of third world countries to operate and maintain nuclear plants safely and efficiently.

Another concern: Because there are currently few international nuclear safety regulations, competing vendors will be tempted to cut corners on safety features. Already, countries such as the Philippines (which is constructing a Westinghouse reactor in an earthquake zone) and Brazil (which is building a plant with a containment only half as thick as required in the U.S.) have installed nuclear plants that could not be licensed in any industrialized country. And in March 1981 a federal court ruled that American vendors need not consider foreign health and safety impacts in proposing reactor sales to developing nations.

Let's get technical.

Third world leaders have long held two opposing views of the role of technology in development. On the one hand, policymakers want their nations to grow in the image of the advanced industrialized countries—a philosophy that seems to call for huge outlays of precious capital on elaborate technologies. On the other hand, advocates of "people-oriented," bottom-up development want basic technical know-how applied to agriculture, health care, housing, education and transportation.

Tanzania's president, Julius Nyerere, recently said that his standard for development was "not going to the moon, but feeding ourselves." At the same time, he appealed to developing countries to establish a technical secretariat that would seek to win concessions from the industrialized nations on the restructuring of international trade. In many cases, reliance on Western institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, for basic technology assessments has led directly to energy strategies that now justify purchases of nuclear power plants.

Another issue raised by continually evolving nuclear technology is the survival of the 12-year-old Non-Proliferation Treaty, long considered the centerpiece of global security. In Article IV of the treaty, a bargain was struck between developed and developing countries: Third world signatories allowed international safeguards to be applied to all of their nuclear facilities; in return, the nuclear suppliers guaranteed them access to civilian nuclear technology. But at the time, third world nations were so hindered from pursuing the nuclear option that the guarantee lacked substance.

Today, however, old economic and technical constraints on nuclear power are slackening for third world nations—just when survival of the worldwide nuclear industry depends on securing lucrative third world markets. In this situation, the tension between nuclear capitalism and nuclear non-proliferation is sure to grow.

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IN THESE TIMES

U.S. wages a secret war in Nicaragua



Sandinista soldiers on training maneuvers near the Honduran border

By Craig Nelson

WASHINGTON

Michael Barnes, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, said on March 10 that recent revelations of plans for covert intervention in Nicaragua were "a virtual declaration of war." By launching a covert war against Nicaragua, the Reagan administration has decided to attempt to accomplish covertly—under the veil of CIA secrecy and third-country surrogates—what it cannot achieve diplomatically with the support of Congress and the American people: the acquiescence and, ultimately, the removal of the Sandinista government of Nicaragua. Once again the U.S. is showing—as it did in Guatemala in 1954, Guyana in 1963, Brazil in 1964 and Chile in 1973—that it will go to any length to undermine any government in its hemisphere that attempts to succeed where U.S. largess has failed.

What follows is a report on American efforts to repeat those dark chapters in U.S. history.

ON DEC. 1, PRESIDENT REAGAN formally approved political and paramilitary operations by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) against what the administration describes as Cuban arms supply lines in Nicaragua and elsewhere in Central America. The president's authorization, reported by the *New York Times* on March 14, also permits the agency to work with other Latin American governments to carry out the clandestine operations.

Although the precise nature of the programs approved by the president is a matter of considerable dispute, some covert operations directed at Nicaragua were already underway at the time of his authorization. The *Times* reported on March 11 that at a meeting held at the White House in November, Reagan approved a CIA proposal to expand a program started under the Carter administration that provides covert aid to individuals and private organizations in Nicaragua. The program, which the *Times* says involves millions of dollars, aims to "help preserve moderate economic and political institutions." According to the March 1 *Newsweek*, recipients of the funds are non-Sandinista leaders, including political parties, unions and businessmen.

In November and December, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders told members of the House and Senate Committees on Intelligence, according to two members of Congress present at the briefings, that the CIA was secretly providing training, money and arms to former members of Gen. Anastasio Somoza's National Guard who are now carrying out armed incursions into Nicaragua from bases in Honduras. The funds are being funneled through friendly Latin American countries. Reagan administration ambassador-at-large Vernon Walters has negotiated with the government of Argentina and with elements of the security forces of Venezuela, Colombia and Chile to cooperate with the CIA in destabilizing the Nicaraguan government, and to act as U.S. surrogates in actions in other Central American countries.

The assistant secretary told congressmen that the aim of the CIA's covert action is to incite unrest in Nicaragua using former Somoza Guardsmen, dissident elements and ethnic minorities in Nicaragua and exile groups in the U.S. Nicaraguan officials say that the former Guardsmen's attacks are intended to provoke retaliatory measures by the Nicaraguan army, thereby creating a pretext for foreign military intervention.

In recent weeks, armed bands operating out of what the Nicaraguan government claims are more than 20 base camps in Honduras have stepped up their attacks on Nicaraguan targets. Nicaraguan officials charge that counter-revolutionary groups are responsible for explosions on March 14 in northern Nicaragua that destroyed one bridge and severely damaged another, prompting the government to declare a state of emergency one day later.

In Miami, Pedro Ortega, leader of a group of Somoza loyalists called the National Liberation Army (ELN), claimed credit for the action. On March 25 commander Daniel Ortega, head of the Nicaraguan junta, told the United Nations Security Council in New York that in the previous five months, attacks originating in Honduras had killed 67 Nicaraguan soldiers and civilians and razed five communities.

Honduran foreign minister Edgardo Paz Barmica told Honduran TV on March 18 that there are no Nicaraguan counter-revolutionary camps in Honduras. Then, in a communique issued by its foreign ministry on March 29, the Hon-

duran government acknowledged the existence of the camps but denied that its army assists them. However, a ranking U.S. diplomat told the *Los Angeles Times* in early February that some members of the Honduran armed forces are "quietly supportive" of the Nicaraguan exiles in Honduras.

In his speech to the Security Council, Ortega also charged that there are about 2,000 counter-revolutionaries in Honduras who are trained, fed and armed by officers of the CIA's section of operations for the division of hemispheric affairs. According to informed administration sources quoted in a March 10 article in the *Washington Post*, the U.S. military is currently engaged in two operations in Honduras to "indirectly support anti-Nicaraguan efforts." Sources in Teguci-

U.S. officials reportedly want to recruit some Miskito Indians to serve as intelligence operatives.

galpa, the capital of Honduras, told Brian Ross of NBC news in March that at least one training camp in Honduras is training a paramilitary force run by Argentine military advisors and supplied with arms by American advisors.

U.S. ambassador to Honduras, John Negro Ponte, said in March that Washington "wants to help Honduras develop and strengthen itself to avoid the complications of what's happening in the region." The U.S. mission to that country has almost doubled in the past two years. By mid-March there were 97 U.S. military personnel in the country, including 11 men permanently assigned to the mission and 86 on temporary duty. This military force includes a training crew in "arms interdiction."

Former Somoza Guardsmen operating out of Honduras are assisted by some of the more than 10,000 Miskito Indians who have fled Nicaragua since last May. The exodus began when Steadman Fagoth Mueller, a popular Miskito leader, was

released from jail following his arrest in February 1981 on the basis that documents recovered from Somoza police files showed him to be an undercover agent. He immediately went to Honduras with 3,000 followers, and, according to a March 23 article in the *Miami Herald*, made contact with a group of former Somoza Guardsmen known as the 15th of September Legion (in honor of Sept. 15, 1821, Central American Independence Day).

He began broadcasting over the Legion's clandestine radio station, urging the Miskitos to come to Honduras and join in preparations for the invasion of Nicaragua. Late last year, reports the *Herald*, Fagoth and some of his supporters joined the Nicaraguan Democratic Front, an alliance between the Legion and the Nicaraguan Democratic Union (UDN), a group of disillusioned Sandinistas led by former Sandinista commanders Fernando and Edmundo Chamorro.

Last December, Fagoth was injured when a Honduran Air Force plane crashed on take-off from Porto Lampira near the Nicaraguan border. Accompanying Fagoth, according to the Jan. 8 issue of *Latin American Weekly Review*, were former Somoza Guardsmen and a member of the Honduran armed forces. The incident confirmed to the Nicaraguan government charges of collusion between Honduran military officers and exile groups made in a letter sent by Nicaraguan foreign minister Miguel D'Escoto to his Honduran counterpart five days before the crash.

The Nicaraguan government announced on Feb. 3 the uncovering of a plan, called "Operation Red Christmas," to provoke a secessionist movement among the Miskito Indians in northeastern Nicaragua. The operation, allegedly led by Fagoth, included the participation of some pastors of the Moravian church, Catholic priests and personnel for the protestant relief and development agency, CEPAD. According to the government, the plan got underway in November with a series of attacks along the Rio Coco, Nicaragua's border with Honduras, and was to culminate in late December with a general uprising followed by the intervention of foreign troops to support the secession of the region.

The government says that attacks and kidnappings by subversive bands crossing the Rio Coco unimpeded forced it to begin relocating thousands of Miskitos in January in order to remove them from what has become a combat zone. Critics contend that the Nicaraguan government alienated the Miskitos and then forcibly relocated them because it feared the Indians might side with a U.S.-backed invading force.

In late February, at the same time the *New York Times* reported that the U.S. mission to Honduras "appeared" to have established direct contact with him, Fagoth came to the U.S. to protest the Nicaraguan government's "genocidal" acts against the Miskitos. His trip was sponsored by the American Security Council, a conservative think-tank located in Washington. In Miami, according to the March 23 issue of the *Herald*, Fagoth was chaperoned by members of the UDN, and, in Washington, several of his interviews with members of the press corps were arranged by the Washington office of U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., Jeanne Kirkpatrick. In an interview in Washington on Feb. 23, Fagoth denied he wanted to overthrow the Sandinista government or that he had received assistance from U.S. officials in Honduras.

Since his departure, reports have appeared indicating that U.S. officials are interested in recruiting Miskitos to serve as intelligence operatives or commandos, and that Argentine advisors may be

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IN SHORT

You can't breathe easy

Right now, members of key committees in the House and Senate are reviewing an extension of the Clean Air Act. Public support for the Act is overwhelming; for example, a 1981 Harris poll found that 86 percent of the American people believed Congress should either preserve or strengthen it. But there's another side to the issue—and it amounts to \$729,715, at last count. That's how much those crucial committee members received, during the 1980 election period and all of 1981, from the political action committees (PACs) of 93 corporations found in violation of Clean Air Act emission standards during 1982. And of that \$729,715, according to a recent study by Common Cause, \$184,655 was contributed in 1981, a non-election year, when congressional reviews of the Act were in progress.

According to the study, the 42 representatives serving on the House Energy and Commerce Committee received a total of \$390,435 from the violators' PACs. That committee recently resumed mark-up of the industry-backed Dingell-Luken Clean Air Act bill, a cough-inducing measure that was approved by the House health and environment subcommittee in March by a vote of 12 to eight. According to Common Cause, those 12 pro-bill subcommittee members—dubbed the "dirty dozen"—consistently rejected efforts by subcommittee chairman Henry Waxman (D-Calif.) to strengthen the Dingell-Luken bill. The study found that the dirty dozen received a total of \$197,325 from the violators' PACs, while the eight subcommittee members who voted against Dingell-Luken got \$20,325.

The 16 members of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, which has yet to produce a definitive Clean Air Act bill of its own, collected a total of \$339,280 from PACs of the Violating 93. The top recipient there, according to the study, was Sen. Steven Symms (R-Idaho), who received \$97,750. In December, Symms sponsored an amendment that would have doubled the carbon monoxide emission limits for 1983-1986 model cars.

Up in smoke

This seems like a good place to pause for another of those apocalyptic messages: According to the *Manchester Guardian* (via PNS Radio), a Harvard Medical School professor says the risk of triggering a nuclear war is increasing, because of incompetence, mental instability and drug abuse among soldiers at nuclear weapons facilities. (So far, it seems, he hasn't checked his students for those traits.) The prof, James Muller, says that each year the Army removes 5,000 soldiers from atomic assignments—mostly for alcohol or drug abuse. About 250, he says, are dismissed for using LSD or heroin.

The Army has come up with a new strategy for combating such ills, in the silo and elsewhere. Soldiers with drinking or drug problems will now get only 90 days, instead of a year, to rehabilitate themselves and return to active service. In the last three years, the number of soldiers with alcohol problems jumped 43 percent; large-scale marijuana use climbed 23 percent.

Beyond flower power

"National Secretaries Week is usually a time for office workers to receive a free lunch or a flower," said Karen Nussbaum. "Our report, however, shows that what we need is more money, and a rose cannot make up the difference." Nussbaum heads both District 925 of the SEIU and the eponymous 9 to 5, the National Organization of Working Women. The two groups released a report this month predicting that more than 40 percent of the American workforce will be involved in "information processing" jobs by the mid-'80s. That means an explosion in the number of clerical workers. The problem, according to the report, is that those workers are paid 40 percent less than employees in comparable jobs.

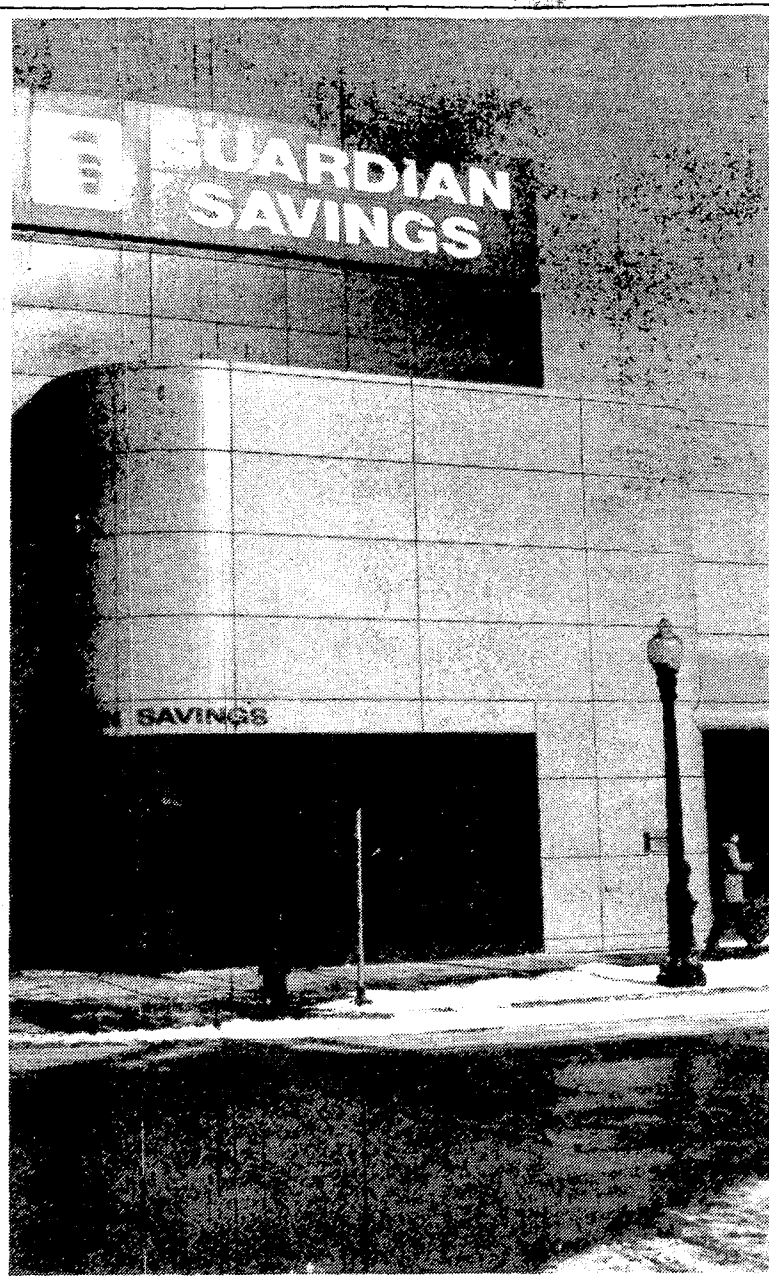
Actually, there are other problems as well. As Nussbaum noted, "Most clerical workers are women, and women workers earn less today relative to men than they did 25 years ago." Only six out of every 100 working women today ever make it into management or supervisory positions. And the report finds that sexual harassment in the office is at "epidemic" proportions.

The group 9 to 5, with 12,000 members in all 50 states, claims to have won back-pay settlements worth millions of dollars for women and minority office workers; it has won benefits, including cost-of-living raises, at more than 50 targeted companies. District 925, the labor union for office workers, was founded last year as a joint project of 9 to 5 and the SEIU. During National Secretaries Week (April 19-24), 9 to 5's national theme was "raises and roses."

Pray on, buddy

Among the recent personals in the *East Bay Guardian*: "DEAR GOD, please lower the prime interest rate so I can buy big expensive things."

—Josh Kornbluth



First the Fidelity Savings and Loan Association, then hundreds of other S&Ls?

You can't trust Fidelity, so who *can* you trust?

OAKLAND, CA—President Reagan's deity, the free market, took a rap on the chin this month when 20 federal officials marched into the front office of the Fidelity Savings and Loan Association here, told company president A.C. Meyer to resign and fired him when he didn't. After that, they announced that stockholders' capital in Fidelity "would essentially cease to exist."

Although the Fidelity takeover didn't exactly fit the left's definition of bank nationalization, UCLA business forecaster David Shulman insisted that "nationalization is the right word. The federal government has nationalized the owners and taken over Fidelity's debts. There are more to come after Fidelity."

Three billion dollars weak, the late lamented Fidelity Savings and Loan Association wasn't a savings-industry giant, but it was still the largest thrift by far to bite the dust in the current inflation-induced crisis. It was also the first to be summarily seized by federal officials, who in the past have tried to finesse similar problems by engineering smooth, low-profile mergers to form healthier institutions.

Federal and state regulatory officials are busy reassuring the public that other savings and loans (S&Ls), in California at least, are stronger than Fidelity. But one savings and loan expert (who did not want to be identified) disagreed: "I won't name names, but some as big or bigger than Fidelity could stumble

in the next three to six months in California if interest rates don't drop." Conservative management professor Harold Walt believes the S&L crisis is even worse than the press has made out. "Hundreds of S&Ls," he said, "will probably not survive 1982."

Donald Alexander, president of the Federal Home Loan Bank of San Francisco, refused to blame management for Fidelity's failure. Others were not so kind. They pointed out that Fidelity's ousted president, Meyer, had angered federal regulators by turning down merger offers from other S&Ls, as well as from Citicorp, Chase Manhattan and other commercial banks eager to gain access to California's huge financial market.

Meyer reportedly refused the offers because they were not sweet enough for stockholders. But Meyer's own personal fortune was also at stake. He and his former wife owned 40 percent of Fidelity's stock, and every dime of it was pledged as collateral against personal loans worth \$10 million from Wells Fargo bank. Thus one capitalist's personal finances became economic history.

But stockholders like Meyer won't be the only ones to lose their money on the deal. Taxpayers will lose as well, because in addition to paying off the depositors, who are insured by law, the feds have agreed to use tax dollars to reimburse Fidelity's creditors—something the

government is required to do neither by law nor by the spirit of free enterprise. The thinking goes that if Fidelity's creditors aren't paid off, then creditors at S&Ls across the country will begin withdrawing credit, leading to a run by creditors on the savings industry as a whole. And the regulators' willingness to pay the price of financial salvage doesn't end with the creditors: The institution that eventually acquires Fidelity's assets is likely to receive generous government subsidies, tax breaks and guarantees.

The price tag for such federal largess will be high. Though Federal Home Loan Bank Board chair Richard Pratt hopes to keep the cost of the Fidelity action below \$100 million, forecaster Shulman thinks \$500 million isn't out of the question. Management professor Walt, who has been appointed overseer of Fidelity's assets, warns, "We're talking big money. A major industry is on the precipice of failure."

—Alan Snitow

SI: In praise of Sandinistas

PARIS—The Socialist International (SI) confirmed its support to the Sandinista government in Nicaragua at a presidium meeting in Bonn last April 2, and condemned any attempts to "destabilize" the revolutionary regime.

The meeting, attended by top party leaders from 25 countries, also declared that the "so-called elections in El Salvador provided no solution to the terrible ravages of the civil war." The Socialist International again called for a "comprehensive negotiated settlement involving all the political elements that will accept the democratic process. These must include the FDR-FMLN."

The SI declared that the "Sandinista government of Nicaragua must be supported in its commitment to pluralism and social justice, to democracy and to non-alignment, and must be supported by condemning any attempts from whatever source to destabilize or interfere with its sovereignty."

The meeting analyzed "the grave situation in Central America and the Caribbean, characterized by an economic recession that compels large numbers of people to live at subsistence level, violation of human rights, a climate of violence and terror in El Salvador and Guatemala and a general insecurity of countries in the region, which is generating a dangerous and unjust armaments race." As a solution, the Socialist International recommended "a comprehensive regional treaty embracing all nations in the region, including in particular the U.S. and Cuba."

—Diana Johnstone

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CALIFORNIA

The agenda seems the least of Democratic Agenda's worries

By Gina Lobaco

LOS ANGELES

CLAUDE RAINS' ORDER IN THE movie *Casablanca* to "round up the usual suspects" could easily have applied to the California Democratic Agenda (DA) conference held at the University of Southern California on April 16 and 17. Many players in the cast of over 800 were repeating earlier roles from the California Project and Economic Dislocation conferences held here in late 1981. The large attendance was, however, noteworthy for an event organized by upstart socialists.

But despite the apparent enthusiasm of those who sat through the standard conference fare of workshops and horatory excess, the perennial problems plaguing DA from its founding in 1975 remain unresolved. Since its inception, DA has operated as a non-socialist Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) front, never asserting itself independently of DSOC nor fulfilling its mission to become an organized bloc within the Democratic Party (*In These Times* editorial, April 7).

But the conference offered scant hope of resolving DA's dilemma. What emerg-

It hasn't yet won a toehold in the Democratic Party, and all unions have so far declined to support the policy-making organization.

ed instead was a keenly perceived need for a party alternative that departs from various trends in current responses to Reaganomics. Democrats are now offering a hodge-podge of approaches ranging from the "neoliberalism" of Sen. Gary Hart's (D-Colo.) regressive consumption tax proposal and investment banker Felix Rohatyn's technocratic version of a reconstruction finance corporation to Keynesian demand-siders' resurrection of past remedies.

DA offers a fairly comprehensive program of substantive policy measures designed to achieve "full employment with price stability by means of more social justice." They include democratically controlling corporations, rebuilding the railroads, developing a renewable energy industry, cutting capital gains tax exemptions, restructuring credit, regulating plant closings, investing pension funds to meet social needs and democratizing the Federal Reserve Bank.

But introducing that program within the Democratic Party presents DA with several difficulties. Under chairman Charles Manatt, the Democratic National Committee (DNC) has restricted grassroots participation, and it eschewed official positions on issues at this year's Midterm Convention. Current Democratic attitudes appear to be rashly irresponsible: Reagan is discrediting himself, and Democrats will regain political power without offering anything different from conventional party nostrums.

To paraphrase one pundit, the Democrats haven't realized that a firing squad doesn't stand in a circle.

So opportunities abound for DA to offer an important alternative as it often has in the past. DA's past efforts have been generally aimed at the national party apparatus, especially during conventions, although some gains have been made in state organizations—most notably in Oregon and New Jersey. But DA has failed thus far to establish a toehold as a continuing left presence in the party. Without a permanent structure through which it can develop, DA cannot sustain activity and consolidate an operational base.

Still frustrated in its attempt to influence the Democratic Party, DA is becoming a slight problem for its parent, now Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). DSA chair Michael Harrington told *In These Times* he recently sought to gain support for DA from various unions; they all declined. Like Machinists president William Winpisinger, a DSA member who wants to circulate his union's economic recovery program, the others were busy with their own projects. But Harrington hopes that by late August—after DSA's founding convention in San Francisco—some unions will sponsor and help finance DA. Since labor continues to be the biggest source of income for the Democratic Party, this type of arrangement would probably substantially increase DA's political viability.

The April DA conference demonstrated that it can elicit substantial interest, but its ability to provide leadership is still largely untested. Given the often screwball nature of California politics, DA faces some tough decisions about what is both possible and practical.

Conference organizers encouraged the participants to become active in the Democratic Party on the assembly district level. The Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) successfully used this approach to send an impressive number of delegates to the state party convention last year. And various county committees, particularly Los Angeles' massive 290-member Democratic Central Committee, could profit from DA activists' input. In San Diego County, for example, the Ku Klux Klan managed to win a Democratic nomination for a congressional district race, and the same candidate is now running as a Democrat for a U.S. Senate seat.

If its invitees to the conference—representatives of various Democratic machines from within the state hierarchy—are any indication, DA wants to be taken ser-

iously by the party. This need to play ball in the major leagues has caused DA to reject author Gore Vidal's senatorial campaign as a spurious notion of "limousine liberals" like Max Palevsky and Norman Lear, who respectively helped underwrite George McGovern's and John Anderson's presidential campaigns.

Vidal, who describes himself as a gay

ence but hardly needs DA to assist his very well-oiled election bid. While DA carefully avoids endorsing political candidates, it did invite several speakers who are running for office. This may be interpreted by some as a tacit endorsement policy.

With such a vague endorsement policy, DA is back to pushing its program. As West Coast DA coordinator Harold Meyerson noted, the "turf" problems in California politics—from CED's territorialism to the California Democratic Clubs, a grassroots network organized in the '50s—make it difficult for DA to stake a claim. But he said he is confident that organizing the 800 conference participants into assembly district pressure



Michael Harrington hopes that after the August founding convention of Democratic Socialists of America, unions will support DSA's policy group.

socialist, has not yet received the promised financial backing, but manages to attract large crowds and good press coverage due largely to his lambent wit and willingness to attack the front-running Democratic senatorial contender, Gov. Jerry Brown. Oddly, many people who feel DA must avoid endorsing Vidal said they would cast their primary vote for him. Vidal also has staunch support from the Citizens' Party. On the other hand, candidate Tom Hayden, who will spend an estimated \$700,000 for his assembly campaign, spoke at the confer-

groups on various pieces of legislation will carve a small niche for DA. In addition, he hopes to establish a DA political action committee (PAC) with the help of contributions from organized labor.

Waxing optimistic, Meyerson claimed that "California DA gets more bang for the buck than any coalition I know." As DA confronts what may be one of its last opportunities to become a relevant part of the Democratic Party, one wonders how much those dollars are worth.

Gina Lobaco writes regularly for *In These Times* about California politics.

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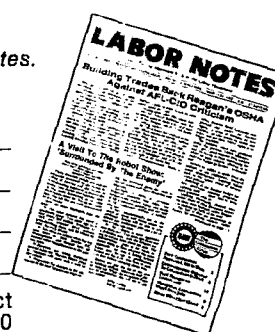
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EUROPE



Owners of small trucking companies that transport food are resisting government attempts to enforce a shorter workweek.

Thunder on the French right

By Diana Johnstone

P A R I S

RIGHT-WING REACTION IS BEG-
inning to shape up in
France, less than a year af-
ter the left took office. The
outlines of a two-pronged
offensive are emerging. On the social
level, special interest groups are pressing
corporatist demands aimed at shattering
measures to promote social equality and
drowning out appeals for solidarity. On
the propaganda level, terrorism is being
exploited to condemn Socialist concern
for human rights as "permissiveness"
and "laxism" that is encouraging crime
and disorder.

This somber perspective was suddenly
illuminated by the bomb that exploded
in the Paris-Toulouse train March 29,
killing five people and injuring 28. The
bombing, apparently meant to derail the

**This activism
comes at a time
when organized
labor is weak
and divided.**

train and cause even greater carnage,
bore the earmarks of neo-fascist crimes
such as the August 1874 bombing of an
Italian train that killed 12 people. But
the conservative press instantly conjured
up "Carlos" and the specter of "leftist
extremism."

"The explanation is simple," an edi-
torialist revealed on the front page of *Le
Figaro*, "the new Socialist government
exhibits a total lack of rigor and a guilty
laxism which allows excesses. One can-
not support revolutionary movements
around the world, justify them when
they go too far, supply them with arms
and grant them exile or even sanctuary,
and then act surprised and shocked that
some of their members take our national
territory for a battlefield. There is no
logic in proclaiming that what terrorists
do elsewhere is good and that what they
do in France is bad."

For the right, it is more logical to as-

sume that liberation movements are ex-
pressing their gratitude for official
French sympathy by blowing up French
trains.

Transportation Minister Charles Fiter-
man, the cabinet's ranking Communist,
rushed to the scene of the blast near
Limoges to express sympathy for the vic-
tims, praise for employees and rescue
workers and determination to identify the
culprits. But that may not be easy. While
the right-wing press lets loose with wild
unfounded accusations, the left is being
discreet about its own deep suspicions.

By a disturbing coincidence, the train
sabotage came at the end of a day chosen
by truckers to disrupt highway traffic in
protest against government policies "fa-
voring the railroads." The owners of the
thousands of small companies that make
up the bulk of French trucking are particu-
larly resistant to government attempts
to enforce a shorter workweek, now said
to run around 60 hours. Labor union
spokesmen did not think truckers could
disrupt the economy, as they did in Chile
under Allende in preparation for the
right-wing coup.

While trucks are crucial to food trans-
port, hexagonal France is not so vulner-
able as elongated Chile, and French
bosses in the trucking industry will not be
able to get their employees to go along
with them as in Chile, they said. Some of
the small truckers have definite fascist
leanings, labor sources pointed out.

A flurry of revolts.

The truckers' action was only one in a
flurry of similar revolts. Recently, a con-
servative farmers' organization held
Agriculture Minister Edith Cresson pris-
oner during a tour of the countryside un-
til she was rescued by helicopter. Interns
have stopped work in hospitals to protest
the policies of Communist Health Minis-
ter Jack Ralite. Police have protested
against Interior Minister Gaston De-
ferre's reassignment of recalcitrant
chiefs. Cafe owners operating govern-
ment-taxed pari-mutuel horse race bet-
ting have shut their bistros to demand a
bigger share of the take. Prison guards
have demonstrated in Place Vendome
calling on Justice Minister Robert Badi-
niet to resign for not allowing tough
enough discipline in the prisons. And
President Jean Menu of the independent
General Confederation of Cadres (CGC)
has called for a "general mobilization"
of his executives, engineers and techni-



Socialist Jean Poperen

cians. "We are led to harden our posi-
tions in the face of the Sovietization of
enterprises," Menu said.

This right-wing activism is developing
at a time when organized labor is weak
and divided. The government's only no-
table pro-labor measure so far has been to
provide for reducing the workweek to 39
hours, theoretically as a first baby step
toward the magic 35-hour week Euro-
pean unions have been calling for as a
job-creating measure. The one-hour dif-
ference is too little to create any noticeable
number of jobs, but enough to have
created a number of hassles, including
conflicts in companies where manage-
ment spread the new hours over six in-
stead of five days, or where employees
were already working less than 39 hours,
or where some other peculiarity changed
the thrust of the provision.

None of this has inspired the enthusi-
astic support the government needs from
labor to offset attacks from other quar-
ters. The main labor confederations,
CGT and CFDT, continue to lose mem-
bers and compete with each other at
every turn. As for Force Ouvriere—the
anti-communist union split off from the
CGT back in Cold War I—its leader An-
dre Bergeron has vowed to fight alleged
CGT efforts to take over public adminis-
tration "tooth and nail."

The left's setbacks in cantonal elec-
tions have been taken as a "warning" by
Socialist leaders. The Socialist Party
(PS) did well, but its middle-of-the-road
Radical allies nearly vanished, and the
Communist Party (PCF) was at its post-
war low of about 15 percent—particu-
larly alarming for the PCF, which has
always done better in local than in na-
tional elections. The decline of the PCF
has by now gone so far that most Social-
ist leaders realize they have no interest in
seeing it go any farther. Up until last
year, the left vote grew as the PCF's
share declined, but from here on in the
PCF's debacle threatens to swing the
majority back to the right.

At a party conference on April 4 and
5, number two Socialist Party leader
Jean Poperen noted that "the resistance
to change is hardening" and analyzed
the right's "destabilization strategy."

"It's not enough to take office to hold
the real substance of power," Poperen
reminded the Socialists. He recalled that
in the "very brief moments" when the
left held office in 1924, 1936 or after the
Liberation, "the bourgeoisie has had
but a single thought: take revenge, and
at any price. What that meant in 1940 is
known," he said, alluding to the Vichy
regime's collaboration with the Nazi oc-
cupation. The right is essentially un-
changed. The left government's offers of
compromise have been rejected, he said.
Instead, the right, whose political leaders
pretend to be moderate, has opted for a
"programmed" and "clever" strategy.

"The cleverness of the right's strategy
consists in working to group together on
a corporatist basis everybody in a partic-
ular category in political agitation against
each of our initiatives," in a way that
breaks the "class front" and subordin-
ates the interests of the less-favored to the
most privileged. "This tactic of socio-
professional guerrilla war could coincide
with a series of more or less violent indi-
vidual actions, giving rise to a psychosis
of insecurity," said Poperen.

"Many reports lead us to believe that
certain famous networks are being recon-
stituted under new names," he said, al-
luding to political dirty tricks squads or-
ganized by right-wing parties. In a later
phase, "more brutal methods" could be
used by the right, he warned.

Poperen said the Socialists in office
had been "too new, too dispersed, too
nice." Instead of vainly trying to please
everybody, key posts must be resolutely
given to people committed to carrying
out the new policies, he insisted. The So-
cialists have run into more resistance than
they apparently expected from various
administrative corps and, most visibly,
journalists and programmers on govern-
ment-owned TV. But anything resembl-
ing a purge now would be politically
much harder than it would have been sev-
eral months ago.

Wait and see.

A certain impression of vagueness has
been created by the government itself,
however, and not just the media image of
it. The protracted legalistic process of na-
tionalizing major industries—billed as
the keystone of Mitterrand's reformist
program—has not been accompanied by
any clear definition of an industrial pol-
icy for those industries once they are con-
trolled by the state. It is not surprising
then if private investors have preferred to
wait and see.

At the April 5 PS conference, Paris
member of parliament Georges Sarre
complained, "The economic future has
seemed to be up to private enterprise, in-
vited and exhorted day after day to in-
vest and produce—as if it depended on
their free will whether employment pick-
ed up and the economy revived. It's out
of the question to wait for private enter-
prise to create an economic upswing,"
said Sarre, "the initiative can only come
from the enlarged public sector."

Poperen said from now on priority
should be given to reforms that produce
the changes in "daily life" desired by
most of the left's working-class voters,

Continued on the facing page

who do not readily appreciate the changes in "mores" which have seemed more rapid. This could refer, among other things, to the government's most spectacular reform, abolition of the death penalty, which went squarely against public opinion. Unfortunately, in the hasty public debate preceding abolition of the guillotine, the abolitionists seemed more intent on displaying their own intellectual and moral superiority than on answering the fears and objections of ordinary people. The right knows how to use these fears.

Every incident of violence is becoming a pretext to attack the government. On April 3, an unidentified young woman shot down Israeli diplomat Yacov Barsimantov, who was in charge of his embassy's relations with political parties in France. The newspaper *Quotidien* immediately suggested a "correlation" between the "laxism" preached in high places and "the fact that France has become the shooting gallery for pistoleros of every stamp." After all, wasn't the terrorist Carlos "a product of that galaxy of South American guerrillas that are treated with such indulgence in the Elysee?" The newspaper accused the government of limiting and weakening the DST and the SDECE (equivalents of the FBI and the CIA) and ignoring "the real danger: extreme left terrorism fed by certain Palestinian factions and no doubt manipulated in part by the Soviets."

Although the Palestine Liberation Organization strongly denied any responsibility for the assassination, Zionist groups organized an angry demonstration calling on the government to shut down the PLO office in Paris—which has been here for years. Members for a militant Jewish youth group chanted: "Hamchari got his, Arafat's turn will come!" in reference to PLO representative Mahmud Hamchari, who was assassinated in Paris in December 1972. Right-wing members of parliament joined the demonstration, whose tone quickly turned against the left government.

Privately, Socialist leaders were aghast. Francois Mitterrand's visit to Israel seems to have been a one-way trip. ■

Covert

Continued from page 3
assisting Fagoth and his supporters in Honduras.

In addition to the Miskitos, the former Guardsmen are receiving help from Cuban exiles and mercenaries as well as from other Nicaraguan exiles who are recruited in Florida and trained in camps there.

A Cuban exile known as "Bombillo" and Hector Fabian, the directors of one of the camps, have boasted that more than 100 of their "graduates" have slipped into Nicaragua. This stated goal of Cuban exile and right-wing Nicaraguan training camp leaders in at least one Florida camp is the overthrow of the government of Nicaragua. And Enders told several members of Congress in off-the-record meetings that the administration is "winking" at violations of U.S. neutrality laws because the exile groups are part of the covert operation. *Newsweek* reported on March 1 that Washington maintains regular contact with Nicaraguan exiles who are training in Florida for an eventual assault on Nicaragua. Although Nicaraguan exile sources told Guy Gugliotta of the *Miami Herald* that anti-Sandinista training camps in Florida are a "bluff," counter-revolutionary sources in Miami have, according to Gugliotta, copies of floor plans of essential economic installations, that the UDN and its military wing, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Nicaragua (FARN), had intended to sabotage in January.

In his briefings to the select committees, Assistant Secretary Enders indicated that Argentine and Venezuelan security personnel would carry out the early stages of a clandestine operation, with the U.S. assuming the costs. Independent evidence of the countries' involvement emerged when Nicaraguan govern-

ment leaders accused Argentine and Venezuelan officials of backing the UDN-FARN. In January, Nicaraguan security forces arrested the group's chief of operations, William Baltodano.

In a live TV presentation conducted by Nicaraguan government officials on Jan. 12, Baltodano named as co-conspirators three Venezuelan diplomats stationed in Managua, one Venezuelan intelligence agent inside Nicaragua and a Salvadoran diplomat in Costa Rica. Baltodano said that the Venezuelans, using embassy cover, helped plan the group's espionage operations against Nicaragua. He also said—and a March 23 *Miami Herald* article citing UDN sources has since confirmed—that he, the Chamorro brothers and another UDN leader, Orlando Bolanos, visited Buenos Aires last May and met with Argentine officers who gave them \$50,000 in cash.

The Feb. 12 issue of *Latin American Weekly Review*, citing Nicaraguan government sources, says that the Argentine benefactors were Alberto Valin and Col. Mario Davico. Valin, who until last December was head of army intelligence, was recently named Argentine ambassador to Panama.

In August, the Argentines offered another \$50,000 and said they would train and equip a large force of counter-revolutionaries on the condition that the UDN and the 15th of September Legion form an alliance. The alliance, coined the Nicaraguan Democratic Front, was formed on Aug. 11 and the Argentines provided the additional \$50,000.

Baltodano said in his statement in January that some of this money was used to buy arms in Miami, from there they were shipped to the group's main bases in Honduras, with the Honduran special security forces acting as a conduit. Spokesmen for the foreign ministries of Venezuela, Argentina and El Salvador have denied Baltodano's allegations, but five Venezuelan envoys left Nicaragua and the Argentine ambassador was recalled.

Baltodano, a demolitions expert, was charged in January with conspiring to bomb a cement factory and an oil refinery near Managua. A government communique said that security forces recovered timing devices, arms and over 300 sticks of dynamite. Before his arrest, Baltodano had travelled throughout Central America using false documents provided by the Honduran intelligence service. He also visited Chile, Colombia, Venezuela, Argentina and the U.S., where he says he and the Chamorro brothers met with unnamed government officials in Washington.

Other countries get in the act.

In addition to their involvement with the UDN-FARN, Argentina and Venezuela, along with Colombia and Honduras, have been preparing a paramilitary force for action in Central America for two years, according to the March 14 *New York Times*. This follows a *Los Angeles Times* report in February that said Argentina had already sent 50 paramilitary personnel to Central America to help train

Nicaraguans fighting to overthrow the Sandinista government.

Despite the assurances of some administration officials that U.S. personnel would not be directly involved in covert operations, a former Green Beret now employed in law enforcement told Mike Wallace at CBS News that he had been approached by his old commanding officer in the special forces and was offered a \$50,000 contract for six months' employment. The job entailed six weeks training in Central America, then infiltrations or air drops inside Nicaragua to do "the same kind of thing he did during the Vietnam war" (*In These Times*, Mar. 3).

Relations between the governments of Honduras and Nicaragua have been more tense since late March, when skirmishes in the Gulf of Fonseca and off the Caribbean coast resulted in the downing of a Honduran air force plane and the confiscation of Honduran fishing boats. Furthermore, the Nicaraguan government says that on April 7 simultaneous attacks were carried out against two positions on its border with Honduras and one at its border with Costa Rica.

As observers speculate about the extent of CIA activities against Nicaragua, and top administration officials deny that the U.S. is attempting to overthrow the Sandinista government, conditions in that country continue to worsen. ■

Craig Nelson is a research associate at the Institute for Policy Studies. He, along with Saul Landau, also reported on covert action in Nicaragua in the March 6 issue of *The Nation*.

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Rock goes on within

By Laurel Taylor

THE ATMOSPHERE AT HAVANA'S Karl Marx Theater approaches cheerful hysteria. The stars of the evening are an American rock band, The Fabulous Titans.

Technically speaking, things are a disaster. The amplification equipment has been provided by the government—a result of crossed wires between Cubartista and the band's management, who understood they were to bring only horns and guitars. Keyboardist and lead singer Ron Rhoades and drummer David Luce must rely on inferior equipment as well. "Boy, I'm glad I don't have to play a Russian sax," quipped Carroll "Rico" Knapp at the sound check when he saw the organ waiting for Ron.

The Karl Marx Theater, normally the seat of the Communist Party Congress, is impressive and modern, but not acoustically designed with rock 'n' roll in mind. The control booth is set off to the side of the stage so the Titan's sound engineer John Cuniberti must mix the sound in his hermetically sealed environment. The Titans are about to perform to the largest audience they've ever had gathered for them and they're not sure they can deliver good sound.

When the band runs onstage the screaming is deafening. All 5,000 people who have paid approximately a dollar for their ticket are greeting the first North American band they've ever seen live. Aside from the Havana Jam—a star-studded 1977 festival featuring CBS Records artists like Billy Joel and Weather Report, available mainly to those with connections in the Party or at foreign embassies—this is the first incarnation of American rock'n'roll on Cuban soil.

The Titans' apprehension transforms into kinetic precision as they dance and play their rapid, ska-paced music. A fusion of '60s Jamaican pop music (rock steady, ska, and reggae), R&B and British Invasion rock make up the distinctive sound they're dubbed "pop steady." People want to get up and dance, but security guards made sure everyone remains in their seats. Up in the balconies some of the kids have taken off their shirts and are swinging them lasso-style above their heads while chanting, "Paul McCartney, Paul McCartney."

Moving through the theater, I watch faces vacillating between frozen rapture, puzzled looks and fist-pumping solidarity. The mixture of ages in the crowd is surprising—couples with small children on their laps as well as a few grey heads bobbing gently back and forth. Here and there I find pockets of discontent—teenage boys who call out "Mas fuerte" (harder) or "Led Zeppelin."

Lead guitar heroics are where it's at here in Cuba, and when Scott Hill steps forward to solo the crowd roars its approval. A knot of boys stand up in the front row and play air along with him. Moe Armstrong, the tour promoter, comes up to me, laughing. "It's like a socialist San Jose," he says, referring to the Heavy Metal center of Northern California.

The Titans, whose single, "Don't Ever Leave Me," was a smash hit on

Cuban radio prior to the tour, are mobbed outside the theater and when they walk the streets of Havana. After two more nights the pop-steady party is over and the rest of the Titans' dates at the Karl Marx Theater are cancelled because the kids have ripped up the seats in their enthusiasm. Los Titans Fabulosos are re-routed to the tobacco country where they continue to rave on in less sacrosanct venues.

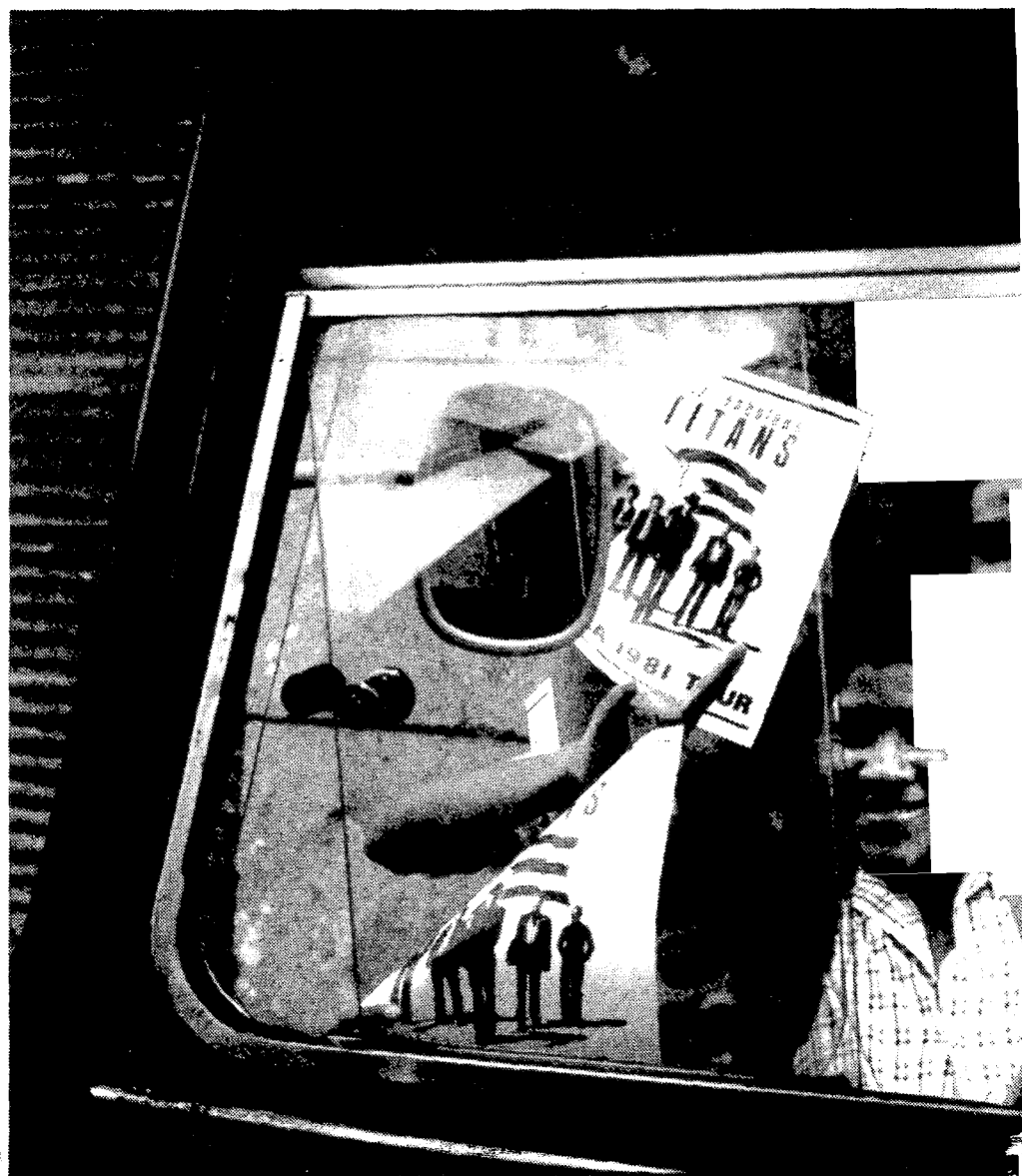
Definitive Dada.

It is midday as we walk through the twisting streets of the old section of the city. The heat and humidity are enervating, yet children playing baseball clog the street. An old woman resting her elbows on her windowsill gossips with a neighbor hanging laundry on the balcony across the way. Their voices are raised in order to be heard above the cries of the children and over the live rock music blaring out from an apartment in one of the once grand but now dilapidated Spanish colonial homes.

Under the curious stares of the neighbors we rap hard with the brass knocker on the door of the offending apartment. Within moments we are let in by a young man wearing designer jeans, an Adidas T-shirt, long hair and a beard. Raul Pastor, leader of Dada, Cuba's first and most renowned rock group, welcomes me and greets my interpreter from Cubartista, who happens to be an old friend of his.

There is great excitement in the small living room where most of Dada's nine members are packed in with synthesizers, keyboards, microphones, amps and monitors. Raul explains that the equipment has just arrived from the U.S. I ask how it could have been purchased considering that the U.S. embargo against trade with Cuba is still in force. Raul explains that his mother brought it back with her from a visit to a relative in Florida. He points to the tiny white-haired woman rattling pots and pans in her little kitchen. This acceptance and mingling of generations is apparently one of the more positive aspects of the severe housing shortage that plagues Cuban society.

The 34-year-old bass player Pastora and keyboardist Alfredo Arias formed Dada while they were still in the army in



1964. At the time they were listening to American jazz musicians such as Herbie Hancock, Duke Ellington and Dizzy Gillespie, but like youth in other parts of the world they were quickly seduced by the Beatles and the Rolling Stones and by what is referred to here as the "International Wave." When they decided to work as professionals, they applied for government assistance to study music and to help provide instruments for them; later they were "called to elevation."

Elevation is a process by which individual musicians and groups are categorized by their professional peers in one of three levels. Each level guarantees a minimum yearly salary as well as a certain number of engagements commensurate with the musicians' experience and abilities. Dada, who are in the A (top) level, command salaries equivalent to around \$600 a month (in a society where education and medical services are free and rent is only 10 percent of personal earnings).

A musician or a band's level is not dic-

tated by their commercial popularity. The government salary does not exclude other financial gains that come with increased recognition, such as additional contracts, TV shows and composer's royalties. Pastora and Arias, who write the band's original material, receive a higher percentage of the record sales than other members of Dada. Individual musicians are rated separately as well as with their groups, and all artists have the right to request an audition for elevation once a year.

Two years after they were first called to elevation, Dada had become famous throughout Cuba. In 1970 they were chosen at the Varadero Festival to "represent rock music for the youth." Varadero is an international festival of Latin American and Caribbean music held annually in a beautiful beach town resort. This year's concerts included performances by Jamaica's Jimmy Cliff and Nigeria's Fela. At the time, Dada was the first group to infuse social lyrics with the new music.

I ask Raul if he feels the government's support of the band restricts his freedom of expression. He answers emphatically, "No. I write what I want to write....No one tells me what to do. The government doesn't interfere with me." Has he felt that he must compromise in his own work between art and politics? "I think not being compromised is being compromised with the other side. When you are not compromised by one thing you are compromised by its opposite." Was the lifestyle of a rock musician problematic for the government? Wasn't long hair and smoking marijuana considered counter-revolutionary? "We can play rock music without drugs or marijuana and we feel the same. We can wear a *guyabera* (traditional Cuban shirt) and still play rock music."

Raul moves across the checkerboard of styles that made up rock in the '70s while listing the groups that were inspiration for Dada—Emerson, Lake & Palmer, Styx, Earth, Wind & Fire, the Commodores, Deep Purple, Pink Floyd and

Cuba's premier rock group, Dada



Laurel Taylor

ON WITH²OUT YOU

Fans flock to the Titans.

Kool & the Gang. Conspicuously missing are reggae or new wave influences. In general, he tells me, he leans toward black music and draws upon the Afro-Cuban sounds of his own culture as well.

Are there any particular problems a musician in Cuba faces? "The main problem comes from the blockade," Raul says. "I am a lucky man because my mother goes to the States and buys this equipment. We always know what's happening in the music world, but we don't always have the technology to compete with it."

When we come to the end of our interview, a couple joins us in the doorway of the little room. The man, drummer Hector Barrera, looks astonishingly like Ringo Starr. His friend, a dark-haired woman, wears a black T-shirt emblazoned with a familiar face and the inscription: "John Lennon (1940-1980) Life Goes on Within You Without You."

Social sounds.

Oswaldo Rodriguez was born blind. From the earliest age his musical genius was apparent, and now at the age of 32 he is Cuba's most renowned singer/songwriter. Last November he won the Grand Prize at the Yamaha 12th Annual World Popular Song festival in Tokyo, bestow-

ing upon him a gold medal, \$10,000 and international recognition for his song, "Digamos Que Mas Da."

A week before Oswaldo departs for Japan I meet with him in the spacious old apartment where he lives with his wife and mother. Sounds from the tree-lined street below drift up through the open French doors in Oswaldo's study.

When Oswaldo was five years old, he tells me, his grandfather discovered a school for blind children sponsored by the Lions Club of Havana, where he was officially introduced to music, though he claims to have been already angering his parents by dragging cans out of the trash and tuning them.

"I had 40 cans—all tuned differently—from which I could play any tune. My family was a farm family and none of them were musically inclined. They had no understanding of what I was doing; they thought I was crazy." At the age of eight, Oswaldo got a guitar, on which he composed his first song, a Mexican *ranchera*. It was 1957, two years before Fidel's final victory. "At those moments, rock'n'roll was very famous in Cuba. People were hearing it every day," and Oswaldo recalls that it was Elvis Presley and the Cuban singer Benny More who first made a strong impression on him.

After the Revolution, Oswaldo studied classical music. Though too young to be a Communist, his abilities were so extraordinary that he was drafted into the Chorus of the Communist Union, where he was invisible because he was so much shorter than everyone else.

At 16 in 1966, he found inspiration in the Beatles and formed his own quartet called 5U4, which became known throughout Cuba with hits like "In Five Minutes," "The Poor Man's House" and "I Lose My Cane."

In 1977, the compositions began to change. He moved away from the pop style of his early pieces and began to inject *bolero* (a traditional 3/4 Spanish dance rhythm) into his sound. His new work was also distinguished by a focus on social issues. "I was interested in making social and romantic sounds and establishing a relationship between the two terms. The style was more political in content, and at the same time it was the most popular."

Despite his popularity, not until 1979 did Oswaldo make the leap from singer to national hero with a song written especially to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Revolution. "This song was very special to me," he says, "because it identified me to the children; it was easy for them to sing." I ask him if he can tell me something of the 20th Anniversary song's lyrics, and a friend sitting with us hands Oswaldo his guitar.

For the next few minutes I have an odd feeling of sitting in room with history—the air crackles with the pure emotional power the anthemic song evokes. The didactic words of the song—"the poor of Cuba, proud to be free, constructed a new society that broke with the past..."—are overshadowed by the stirring rhythm, the melodic hooks. The song has the grandeur and effortlessness that other patriotic hymns strive for but seldom achieve.

On the wall in Oswaldo's study hangs a

Oswaldo Rodriguez

simply framed photograph of Fidel embracing the singer moments after he has performed the 20th Anniversary song at the inauguration of the Ernesto Che Guevara Pioneer Palace. "For me, there will be no award greater than that."

Funkytown.

My Cuban friend takes me to a certain street corner in Havana in the wee hours of the morning. "Here you can buy anything: a woman, blue jeans, marijuana, or a cassette player." In other words: sex, drugs and rock'n'roll.

To look around at this black market scene one can imagine being on an American street on a hot summer night, let's say in Harlem, or in East Los Angeles, or in the Mission in San Francisco. There is the same edge and the same listlessness, the same hustler who says something you can't quite understand and who is nervously looking out for the police (or as they are called here, "the girl with blue eyes"). Even the same background music—"Funkytown"—thumping through the humid night from out of a "box."

But life in the margins is different here. You're really outside, off the paper completely. "Freaky-freaky" is the term the government calls these waywards who aren't particularly interested in contributing toward their neighborhood Committee for the Defense of the Revolution group or toward the whole New Era, for that matter. Freaky-freaky is a derivative of "Fucky-fucky," the come-on phrase used by prostitutes in Batista days when getting laid cost one American dollar.

Despite the 20 years of rapid progress, despite the Soviets, despite the industry of the Cuban people, Cuba still needs the hard currency of those American dollars, and the growing tourist trade is one of the answers to the problem. In hotels all over the island, there are discos where Canadian, Western European and American youth mingle with Cubans to dance to the beat of Donna Summer's "Bad Girls."

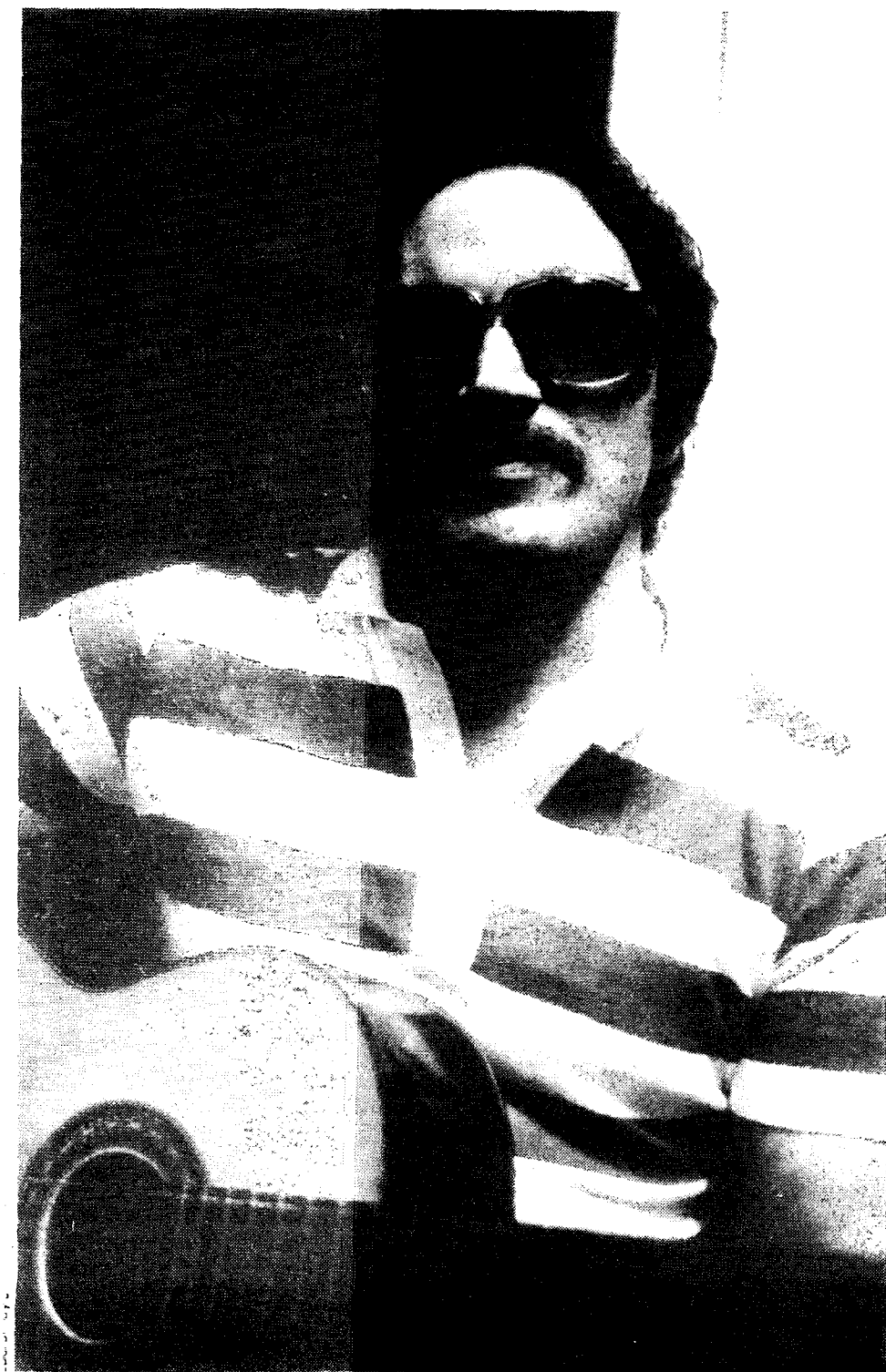
It is ironic that a country that traditionally has shown broad cultural inclinations from political necessity remains self-absorbed in its own history, in its past victories and military heroes. That the Cuban government saw fit to import The Fabulous Titans, a non-political band whose atypical music was more avant-garde than the standard fare on Miami FM radio, and then made the band available to as many people as possible challenges the stereotype of Cuba as a closed society. But one is left wondering how much cultural integration is really possible between nations with such conflicting ideologies and interests.

My guide to the black market has scoured every last word from the occasional *Rolling Stone* left behind by tourists, and his record and tape collection are more extensive and sophisticated than anything I would have expected. He has worked very hard to acquire his knowledge, but the fruits of his labor are an inescapable alienation from the revolutionary society in which he lives. He loves Cuba, has an excellent job, but he can't get no satisfaction. He's all dressed up with no place to go. He turns up his nose when I mention Dada or Oswaldo Rodriguez. He wants to know if I ever saw the Sex Pistols.

Laurel Taylor writes for a variety of publications in the San Francisco Bay area.



Laurel Taylor



LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

GIVEBACKS

JUST A FEW HOURS AGO (APRIL 7) I left an angry, raucous meeting of my local union after voting no on the new UAW/GM contract. Most members present seemed bitterly resigned to accepting the new contract as the only option available. It should be explained that our local at South Gate, Calif., was left out of the agreement regarding closings. Our plant along with the GM plant in Fremont, Calif., remains closed. So much for "job guarantees."

One very important point David Moberg left out of his article (*ITT*, March 31) is the fact that not only does a worker have to be "willing to move wherever the company wants," as Moberg states but he or she must accept "suitable employment if offered." When asked exactly what this meant, if it included working for the minimum wage, say at McDonald's, the representative from Detroit who was there to sell us the contract replied, "Yes that is considered suitable employment." His excuse for the union accepting such a sell-out was that if no such low-paying job could be found the workers could still draw their Guaranteed Income Stream (GIS). Needless to say, GM will make a point to find these workers low-paying jobs as quickly as possible in order to

avoid paying them any GIS.

The saddest part of all this may be that after working and making profits for GM for 20 or so years, most of the workers at the closed South Gate plant saw no other alternative than to vote for this give-away contract, certainly, no other alternative was offered by the leadership.

—Vince Mannino
Member, Local 216 UAW,
South Gate, Calif.

WHAT WAS IT?

WHAT WAS IT THAT PREVAILED ON the newly-merged Democratic Socialists of America to avoid recognizing the PLO in their charter document, as has the Socialist International? Was it the DSA's aversion to the PLO's use of violence?

In that case, how could the DSA have invited to its sessions two representatives of the El Salvador liberation movement? How could the DSA avoid the fact that in one planeload of American-made bombs, Israel has rained more violence and terror on innocent civilians than all the deaths caused by the PLO since its founding?

Was it ideological differences? In both its charter and its daily practice, the PLO has called for and lived under proto-socialist conditions of providing all essential services and practicing non-

discrimination toward all—Muslim, Christian and Jew.

By contrast, Menachem Begin's military money-machine goes on spewing out arms that have uplifted such "socialist" regimes as those in South Africa, Argentina, the former Rhodesia and Anastasio Somoza's Nicaragua.

Was it the DSA's revulsion to racism? In both his pronouncements and his genocidal frenzy, Menachem Begin, the man the DSA wants the U.S. to continue to arm, has demonstrated his goal of annihilating all traces of a pre-Biblical place called Palestine and an ancient Semitic people called Palestinians.

Was it the DSA's suspicion that the PLO might not really represent the Palestinian people? If so, why didn't the DSA call for a referendum to determine who does?

No other major rationalizations come to mind as to why a socialist organization should seek to arm a fascist, militarist state at the expense of a proto-socialist national liberation movement.

Was it something else? Was it racism? It was racism.

—Mitchell Kaldy
Rochester, N.Y.

NOW HEAR THIS

YOUR ACCOUNT OF THE DSOC-NAM merger (*ITT*, March 31) left me wondering what exactly this newly created party's concept of socialism is. NAM and DSOC seemed to agree on which socialism to strive for; they banded the word socialism about over and over again; yet, nowhere did they discuss or define what socialism means. As portrayed in *ITT*, the merger convention seemed to be debating and affirming democracy. Democracy is fine, but one cannot postulate socialism by basing it on democracy any more than one can postulate it on equal distribution or public ownership of the means of production. These three concepts are merely axioms of the central ideal of socialism: A change in the relations of production.

Those from NAM who claimed that the USSR is not socialist is because it is not democratic were correct only to the extent that the USSR is neither socialist nor democratic. The USSR does, however, have public ownership of the means of production. This, alone, is not socialism because the relations of production are still based on authority rather than on equality. Do the NAM delegates believe that post-World War II Labour England was socialist because it had parliamentary democracy and an equalization of distribution through nationalization?

Marxist and non-Marxist socialists alike often forget that until the master and the slave become equals, socialism cannot become reality. When the relations of production are structured on a consensual foundation distribution will be equal, ownership will be irrelevant, and the highest form of participatory democracy will be achieved.

The "Democratic Agenda" of the DSA blurs the fundamentals of socialism. By pandering to "formal democracy" nascent American socialism sets democracy instead of socialism as its basic goal. But, it is not democracy that destroys the structure of domination. Only socialism will be able to do that.

—Jeffery Brown
Watertown, Mass.

NEWS TO THEM

IT COMES AS QUITE A SURPRISE TO folks around here that (according to John Judis, *ITT*, March 31) DSOC "set up" a "labor-Democratic party" coalition, "Rhode Island's Citizen/Labor Organizing Committee." Most especially a surprise to *Community Labor Organizing Committee* (CLOC) members and supporters.

CLOC was established in 1979, an affiliate of C/LEC (thus the understandable confusion in the name) with some participation by DSOC members. DSOC continues to number among CLOC's affiliated organizations. But

the DSOC presence in Rhode Island, as in so many other locations, is essentially a campus one. Its participation in CLOC is fraternal, not central.

For that matter, CLOC has neither been by any stretch of the imagination a "labor-Democratic party" group. Many members support individual Democrats; and in the upcoming primaries, CLOC will put some official energy into defeating noted anti-labor state representatives.

CLOC is a coalition of 17 labor union locals and community groups in Rhode Island. We work on economic issues of concern to low and middle income workers, such as plant closings, tax reform, natural gas decontrol, and strike support. Neither DSOC or any other organization "set [us] up."

—George Nee
—John Burbank
—John Coen
Providence, R.I.

LOW BLOW?

I HAD HEARD THAT JONAH RASKIN, author of *My Search for B. Traven*, was searching for an advance copy of my novel, *The Bohemians*. My publisher informed me that Raskin had asked for a copy so that he might review it for *The San Francisco Chronicle*. When he discovered that—fortunately for me—the *Chronicle* had already assigned the book, Raskin went in search of another forum. Unfortunately for all of us, he found space in the pages of *ITT*.

I say unfortunately not because he wrote an extremely negative review, but because he appears to have used the limited space afforded to him to take his revenge for some unnamed hurt. Could it be that he learned that I was the reader some time ago for an eastern publisher who turned back the manuscript of the book he eventually brought out as *My Search for B. Traven*?

It doesn't speak well for the ethics of *ITT* reviewers when they bring grudges, preformed judgments and critical clichés ("highly stylized," "all-too-staged scenes," etc.) that were worn out when John Reed was a pup in Oregon to bear on subjects that might have yielded some valuable aesthetic and sociological insights. Whose world is Raskin trying to shake?

—Alan Chouse
Santa Cruz, Calif.

Jonah Raskin replies: Sorry, I did not know that Chouse read and recommended against my manuscript. I just thought The Bohemians was a bad book.

PEN PALS

HAVING JUST SPENT THREE MONTHS travelling around Canada and the U.S. talking to groups about the peace movement in Europe, I would like to suggest that one way peace groups in North America could keep in closer touch with events in Europe is to connect with other groups on the far side of the Atlantic.

Many groups in different parts of Europe are linking up in this way, exchanging news, invitations to demonstrations, and welcoming activists from other countries on a visit.

Peace groups wishing to develop such contacts should write to the European Nuclear Disarmament office at 227 Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4 for continental contacts; to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament at 11 Goodwin Street, London N.4 for British groups; or to me at 5 Malvern Villas, Camden Road, Bath, Avon, Great Britain.

—Peter D. Jones
Bath, England

CORRECTION

The correct address for the Solidarity Support Committee recently listed in our Calendar section is 301 W. 105th St., Apt. 2-R, New York, NY 10025.

Populist Left / Political Write

Red Harvest

The Communist Party and American Farmers

Lowell K. Dyson

In the early twentieth century the American farmer's dream of a farm of his own and the accompanying feeling of self-worth in feeding a hungry nation disintegrated in a tumult of drought, dust bowl, grasshoppers, corporate monopolies, depression, low prices, and an immobile government. *Red Harvest* tells the story of farm radicalism and the attempt of the American Communist party from 1919 through the 1950s to convince the farmer that communism would restore his dream. This book "not only tells us something about farmers and the efforts of Communists to win them over, but about the strength of the American political and economic system."—Gilbert C. Fite. xiv, 259 pages. \$18.95



John Dos Passos

Politics and the Writer

Robert C. Rosen

Robert C. Rosen examines the complex relationship between John Dos Passos's political thinking and his literary achievements. Rosen addresses such questions as the origins and characteristics of Dos Passos's early radicalism, its influence on his literary experimentation, and the causes and exact nature of his later conservatism. xviii, 191 pages. \$15.95



Capital City

Mari Sandoz

First published in the dark days immediately before World War II, *Capital City* is Mari Sandoz's angriest and most political novel. A unique portrayal of the depression in the Great Plains, it is a study of the forces that bitterly contended for wealth and power. Part allegory, part indictment, part warning, this novel received the full measure of Sandoz's ferocity and rage. viii, 344 pages. Paper BB 787 \$6.95; cloth \$20.00



University of Nebraska Press
901 N. 17th Lincoln 68588

ROBERTA LYNCH

This is more than a peace movement



A Chicago couple at the rally following the April 10 Walk for Peace.

By Roberta Lynch

A POLITICAL MOVEMENT is taking root in America today that is profound in its implications and could be historic in its import. It has appeared on our national landscape not in the form of a single organization or a charismatic leader, but in the myriad forms that movements take when they are shaped by different places and experiences and embrace people of diverse backgrounds and beliefs. It has grown from town meetings in New England, from house parties in California, from church pulpits in Texas.

Some call it a peace movement. But it is more than that—for these days even the fiercest hawks are trying to crouch under the wings of the dove and peace has become the coinage of the arms merchants. Some say it is a movement against the draft, or against foreign intervention, or against military spending. It is all of these. But it is more.

For perhaps the first time since the splitting of the atom, we are witnessing the growth of a deeply rooted popular movement against nuclear weapons in the U.S. This movement is not unanimous in its thrust. Some call for a nuclear freeze. Some for unilateral disarmament. Some for the abolition of all nuclear weapons. But what matters is that it is unified in its essential pur-

pose—a halt to the escalating arms race.

And what matters just as much is that this movement is becoming unified in its essential understanding—a recognition that the fate of all humanity is hanging in the balance, and that our president and his men (and women) are willfully and terrifyingly ignorant of how thin a thread holds back a holocaust.

This movement is not alone. It has its counterparts all over the world. The participants do not necessarily think of themselves as radicals. Yet in placing human survival at the forefront of their agenda—and refusing to be deflected by political cant about mutual deterrence and national defense and Soviet superiority—they are positing the most radical of alterations in the practice of world politics today.

The hard-headed "realists" have already begun to chide them. And the politicians have already begun to try to co-opt them. But I suspect that this disarmament movement will not easily be disarmed of its conviction or its fervor. Whatever course it takes in the coming years, it already offers us some powerful lessons about the way things—and people—change.

1. Someone has to go out on a limb—and stay there. It may seem to some that this disarmament movement has emerged overnight, like a child born at age 10. In fact, it has been around for decades. Sometimes no more than voices crying in the wilderness, the disarmament advocates have sounded their warnings. Of-

ten they were ignored or treated as kooks. But they did not go away. And eventually the force of their message could not be dismissed.

I am thinking particularly of those within the Catholic Church—of Dorothy Day, of Daniel Berrigan, of the thousands of lesser-known but no-less-committed crusaders for peace—who long were branded extremists by the church hierarchy. Today that hierarchy not only echoes their ideas, but in some cases it has even sanctioned their civil disobedience tactics.

It took many years of diligent effort, and it took people who were able to be visionary and willing to be "extreme," but the result is a movement that has a depth and a scope that could not have been built out of direct mail campaigns and public relations gimmicks.

2. Morality does matter. For the past decade it has been increasingly fashionable to act as though nothing matters to people but their own immediate economic self-interest. That is the stuff of politics, of organizing. If you want to move people, you have to be pragmatic—you have to be able to win.

There is, of course, much that is valid in this analysis. But if we are truly seeking to develop a politics that is about people in all their dimensions and their complexity, then it is not sufficient to see them only in those narrow terms.

In some sense, the nuclear disarmament movement is very much about self-interest. After all, each individual's survival is at stake. However, I am skeptical that people are actually drawn to the movement on that basis. Few of us like to dwell long on the possibility of our own incineration.

It seems to me, rather, that this movement has placed moral questions at its very center, and that it has touched in its supporters a deep concern about the future of our children and our planet.

3. Politics is one part analysis, two parts organizing, and one part mystery. Sometimes it's easy to start thinking that

because we've read Marx or taken an economics course or guessed that Reagan would beat Carter, we can be completely "scientific" about politics. And, of course, there are some things that are awfully safe bets—like the failure of Reagan's economic program.

But there is also in politics an element of mystery. Very few people on the left predicted—even a year or two ago—that this disarmament movement would gain such momentum or attention in such a short span of time. In fact, in the wake of the Iran crisis and Reagan's victory, it seemed to many that the militarists and national chauvinists had near-total hegemony.

Moreover, in all the debates that have raged over "key sectors" on the left, I

Putting human survival first could mean the most radical of alterations in politics today.

think it is safe to say that virtually no one mentioned doctors or Catholic bishops as the likely catalysts for a progressive mass movement.

Such surprises are a welcome reminder of the mystery that is at the core of each human being—that can never be fully analyzed or controlled or beaten down—and that imparts to each collective movement of the people a unique character and a sense of immense possibility.

For the disarmament movement—whatever its long-term impact—offers us a sign of hope in a pretty dismal time. For that, as much as anything else, we should be grateful. ■

Ohio Students for Disarmament

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Speaker: Daniel Ellsberg

Kent State University Commons

Saturday, May 1, 1982

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Speakers, Music, Entertainment

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Palestinian children's drawings of soldiers

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Rethinking "realism"

The Third Option

By Theodore Shackley
McGraw Hill and Readers
Digest Press, 208 pp., \$12.00

The Global Politics of Arms Sales

By Andrew J. Pierre
Princeton University Press,
352 pp., \$6.95

A Compassionate Peace

By American Friends Service
Committee
Hill and Wang, 226 pp., \$6.95

By Chuck Fager

All three of these books purport to approach the Middle East realistically, that is, without illusion. Yet among them are three conflicting notions of realism.

Theodore Shackley retired from the Central Intelligence Agency in 1979 after 30 years of service, and his book exemplifies CIA realism.

The "third option" of the title is the CIA's specialty, covert paramilitary operations, of the sort, for instance, that have been reportedly aimed at Nicaragua. They are, for Shackley, the "third option" between conventional diplomacy and all-out war. Shackley professes great respect for peaceful diplomacy, and even greater apprehension of war, as "the unthinkable." But the world, alas, is a dangerous place, which makes cruel choices unavoidable. Our survival is threatened most of all by the Soviet Union and its dream of communist world conquest, or at least hegemony, a dream that has been advancing steadily toward reality, Shackley believes, since the collapse of America's war in Vietnam. "For the rest of this century," he writes, "the third option is likely to become more important for the U.S. than in the past." And in his version of the past, secret warfare has been critical to our survival.

Shackley outlines the phases of insurgent revolutionary warfare and strategies of effective covert countermeasures. He provides a case study of each phase, from Basque terrorism in Spain through Angola as a covert war. For his final conventional phase—the last stop before the Armageddon of superpower confrontation, and perhaps the curtain-raiser for it, he imagines an invasion of North Yemen by Soviet-backed South Yemen, an invasion openly threatening Saudi Arabia and America's top source of imported oil. If the CIA and its covert paramilitary efforts don't stop it, then it's time to send in the Rapid Deployment Force for a "quick surgical operation."

What happens then? Shackley is not writing a thriller, so he stops there. (Yet in the bestselling CIA-fantasy thriller of last year, *The Spike*, an almost identical scenario serves to launch the book's climax, when a chastened president, who has just purged the government of KGB agents and moles, practices nuclear brinksmanship and the reds chicken out.) Presumably in Shackley's world the South Yemenis' Soviet sponsors would similarly back down. Things doubtless would work out better than they did in, say, Iran. Or Vietnam. Or at the Bay of Pigs.

But what if the Russians wouldn't back down? The real reason, Shackley explains, why he wrote his book is to sound the alarm about what he sees as America's dismantling of its covert operations capability after Vietnam. Shackley is not deterred by the cavils of the critics that CIA campaigns have in the past all too often, in addition to blowing up in our faces, involved trampling on democratic freedoms that presumably make our system worth saving from Soviet hordes.

Shackley finished his book before the Reagan administra-

tion took power. Events are moving his way. The U.S. is setting forth to reclaim and exploit the "third option." We can all sleep easier now. Can't we?

Managing the unthinkable.

Those who unaccountably find insomniac tendencies increased by Shackley's CIA Realism will no doubt find it even harder to sleep after a consideration of *The Global Politics of Arms Sales*, by a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

The CFR, depending on which conspiracy theory of American society you prefer, left or right, is either the executive committee of the ruling class, or the Politburo of the Eastern one-world liberals. In either view, the Council could be considered the visible snout of the American establishment, and its viewpoint could be called establishment realism. Pierre, a former Brookings and Hudson Institute fellow, articulates this outlook very well: it is balanced, well-inform-

abroad as essentially a commercial activity. They would prefer to have a minimum of regulation by governments, with the arms trade left to the forces of the marketplace. A third perspective—and the one reflected in this study—is primarily concerned with the impact of arms transfers upon regional stability and international security. Arms transfers, it is argued, should be managed so as to prevent or contain conflict and enhance the forces of moderation and stability.

Pierre reports that arms sales have more than doubled in scale just in the past decade, from \$9 billion in 1969 to \$19 billion in 1978. (They are estimated to be well over \$20 billion per annum now.) Among the suppliers, the U.S. is the biggest, followed by Russia, France and Great Britain.

Pierre notes with some bemusement that until 1966, the bulk of international arms sales took place among the developed countries. Since then, however, the share going into the Middle East has grown so rapidly that it now makes up 39 percent of the total, more than twice as much as the next busiest region (Africa), and far beyond the sales among developed countries. Further, recent arms sales have included more and more of the most up-to-date, sophisticated

significance."

The scholarship here is first-rate. If this is realism, however, it is of a sort that prescribes adjustment to unpleasant (though not unprofitable) reality, just as Shackley wants us methodically to adjust to the practice of the unspeakable in order (hopefully) to avoid the unthinkable. But these two realisms seem almost certain to converge at some flash point not too far down the road.

A different reality.

A new report on the Middle East by the American Friends Service Committee can be weighed against these two books, according to whether its analysis takes adequate account of the gloomy accumulation of intrigue and weapons trade that the other two books present. The report easily passes muster. Its chapter on the Middle East arms trade lacks the detail of Pierre's data, but is fully cognizant of the scope of this buildup. Its account of Soviet and American activities in the region is every bit as searching as Shackley's, though viewed from a totally different perspective and presenting a very different interpretation.

A Compassionate Peace, however, challenges Shackley's contention that Soviet intrigue is the source of the region's troubles, or even the major threat to American interests there. Instead, it insists that "local concerns and political realities are the governing factors in the Middle East/Gulf area." Hence, America's "rush to arms, alliances, and grand strategic designs exacerbates tensions and makes the U.S. more surely part of the problem, rather than the solution." It boldly calls on the administration to "renounce its intentions to resort to military force and political intervention," and instead to support initiatives by the major regional players, namely Israel and the Arabs, and in particular the Palestinians, as the means through which the area's buildup toward new disasters can be, not managed or manipulated, but reversed.

As the key steps toward making possible such a reversal, Is-

Quaker idealism may offer a practical Mideast solution.

ed, olympian and weighted toward the status quo, in particular those aspects of the status quo from which profits, present or future, can be made by companies with global reach.

Thus Pierre's account of the world arms trade is curiously dispassionate, almost, pardon the expression, bloodless. "With regard to conventional arms three general points of view can be identified," he writes calmly. "Some persons perceive arms to be inherently wasteful or even evil. They seek a maximum curtailment of their production and distribution. At the opposite end of the spectrum are those who make no moral judgment on arms and who view their sale

and highly destructive weapons, plus a growing number of co-production agreements, by which we sell them not only arms, but arms factories.

What can be done about this massive arms race? The best Pierre can come up with is a suggestion for informal agreements among the Western supplier nations to put a cap on the quantities involved, and the parallel development with the Soviets of some "rules of the game" for competitive sales in contested regions. But even if some such proposals take form, he views arms sales as "not only a normal and permanent aspect of international politics but one of rapidly growing scale and

rael is urged to accept the idea of a Palestinian state in what are now its occupied territories, while the Palestine Liberation Organization and other Arabs are called on to abandon their goal of destroying Israel. The report's authors realize that "whoever offers suggestions for a way out will likely be seen by all sides as partial to its enemies, and by those obsessed with the instruments of power as naive. We assume that risk."

These suggestions are also based on 40-plus years of work with the victims of the region's conflicts. Thus the book confronts the realisms of Shackley and Pierre with a realism of an entirely different sort—a religious realism calling for a peace that would require dramatic initiatives of the sort that have their only recent analogue in Anwar Sadat's extraordinary pursuit of peace with Israel.

Actions like Sadat's, of course, are not "realistic" in these other terms, because they mark a break with the current of events. Yet Sadat's unpredictable moves, for once facilitated by the U.S., brought the region its only real, if partial and precarious, relief from the hostilities of more than three decades. Moreover, it is just such discontinuities that mark the report's underlying Quaker religious faith, the notion that something they would call "that of God" in everyone involved, will be at the base of any reversal of the present situation.

The authors admit that such a viewpoint "is frankly biased and unashamedly visionary." But they also insist that "our bias is based on realism." This kind of realism builds not only on what *could be* if leaders in the Middle East will act, as Sadat did, on what is best in them and their traditions. It also comes from a sober consideration of the likely outcome of the present resort to arms and intrigue, an outcome the region has faced numerous times in the last four decades. The authors speak with authority when they declare that "the alternative of continued belligerence and intransigence and the mindless accumulation of ever more terrible weapons on every side may be the way of today's realist, but it is also the way of madness. We see nothing but disaster lying down that road."

Considering their writings, I don't see how Shackley and Pierre could disagree, or charge this statement with being unrealistic. In terms of their versions of realism, disaster is equally likely, if not, indeed, assumed. But Shackley and the CIA realists would seek to manipulate the catastrophe into a "victory" for our side, while Pierre and the establishment realists would be working with equal diligence to keep the catastrophe "manageable" within the purview of larger corporation and national interests.

Of the three books, only the Quakers' version of realism is able to offer, based on careful analysis and wide experience, how a halt to this mad march of events might be brought about.

It may be that their specific proposals are mistaken, inadequate or unwelcome. But they are also the only set of the three that offers a way of connecting "realism" about the Middle East today with hope for the world's future.

Chuck Fager, an American Friend, is a professional writer for a variety of alternative newspapers.

»SPORTSCENE«

ATHLETICS

Deals, clocks and tantrums

By Lester Rodney

Some possibly argumentative opinions by an ex-sportswriter on current and recent issues in the world-within-a-world known as sports:

Fernando's salary.

Don't feel guilty if you had the sneaky feeling that the million asked for by Valenzuela and his agent was a bit much. It was. And his raise to \$350,000, most ever for a second-year player, is not all that shabby. Especially since Fernando, after this his second season, will be able to invoke arbitration if he so desires, one of the good things won by player militance.

Yet the Dodger organization's

Some coaches, to be sure, are against the shot clock for the wrong reason—so they can keep down the margin of defeat by more talented teams. But hell, even that's interesting. Note that the NCAA tourney championship was won by North Carolina, the team with the best blend of talent and team strategy. (But look out for Georgetown next year! That kid is gonna be awesome *a la* Russell, Chamberlain, Alcindor, Walton.)

College recruiting abuses.

It's been going on since Rackety Rax and Varsity Drag, but coaches ARE getting more blatant going after the good high school kids. Well, why not? They fire coaches, don't they? Down at the great University of



stone-faced "Here's our only offer, take it or leave it," was peculiarly insensitive to the young man from Mexico who did so much for the team's championship season (and its attendance record). Screenwriter Albert Maltz, a baseball fan who lived for some years in Mexico, points out that the principle of bargaining is deeply ingrained in Mexican culture. Stipulating one figure that must be accepted or rejected is rare. Amiable negotiation leading to compromise is the expectation. Which is what Fernando looked for and did not get, why he felt he was being treated like a child, because adults do not bargain with children, and thus why he said: "I am not a child. I am 21. I want to be treated with dignity."

Shot clock for college basketball.

Nix. It would take the complexity and distinctiveness out of the college game and turn it into a less skilled replica of the pro show—run and gun, too much one-on-one, nothing counts until it's 136-133. I don't see a thing wrong with a team that's leading late in the game holding the ball out with skillful discipline, making the defense come out from under the basket and try to get it. It's an intriguing element of the college game. Did they start holding it too soon, losing their momentum? Are they looking for the scoring opening created by a pressing, double-teaming defense?

The answer? University presidents with gumption enough to stick by their coaches regardless of won and lost statistics? Fat chance. Presidents must account to influential (read rich) alumni and boards of trustees. Dat ol' debbil *profit uber alles* is what turns nice scholarly university presidents into craven, callous nerds.

Oakland to L.A. football move (or, Raiders of the Lost Park).

Owners of the Oakland team are suing the pro league for permission to move their franchise into the vacated Los Angeles Coliseum, charging dastardly monopoly-trust restrictions against dear old free enterprise. League prexy Pete Rozelle is not



quite my bedfellow of choice, but I have to hope he wins this one and the move is quashed.

The Raiders have become solidly identified with Oakland, a city which can use all the identity it can find. The team has been supported well by fans. It brings commerce and some *elan* into a depressed area. It's a team with some flavor—player reclamation projects, castoffs making good, guys with big mustaches and free-wheeling attitudes, the first Hispanic head coach, a good multi-race and ethnic mix in a successful civic enterprise. (If that isn't one of the requisites for our cities of the future, what is?) Raider boss Al Davis wants the much

fatter TV market of L.A. He is a businessman, and no more a villain than was corporation lawyer-baseball owner Walter O'Malley when he wrenched the Dodgers out of Brooklyn without regard to tradition, fan loyalty and support, or meaning to the community. (See earlier reference to dat ol' debbil...)

Designated hitter for N.L.?

Boo! The D.H. used by the American League isn't baseball. It takes away a team's ability to cash in on having a better athlete as a pitcher than the other teams. (Babe Ruth, Red Ruffing, Bob Lemon, Fernando Valenzuela...) It eliminates the traditionally tough managerial decision in the late innings of a close, well-pitched game. Do you let your pitcher bat and keep him in there, or go for a pinch hitter and pray for your relief pitcher?

Two-point conversion for pro football?

Thought I'd be a traditionalist on this one too, didn't you? This one I like. It's an exciting option-gamble, a logical extension of football skills. You gotta be good enough to make it if you dare it. You better believe it would end your heading for the fridge right after the touchdown.

Pro football player strike?

The league has just signed by far the most lucrative contract ever with TV, guaranteeing every club a profit even if nobody shows up for the games. Pro football players are by far the poorest paid of all the skilled pro athletes, though they play in the roughest, toughest, most physically dangerous game. No matter how good they are, their bodies pay a heavy price. They are exactly on target in asking a reasonable share of the TV bonanza their hard and dangerous work produces. If the trade union movement doesn't sound off with support for them, it's pretty sad. As for those "fans" who if it comes to a strike would rail against the players for interrupting their TV watching—up theirs. They are probably finks and scabs at heart anyhow.

Tantrums of tennis pros.

When a grown man acts like a spoiled brat having a tantrum, any sport worth a damn should treat him like a spoiled brat having a tantrum and not let him play again until he apologizes and promises not to do it again.

Lester Rodney is the ex-sports editor of the Daily Worker.

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

MUSIC

Good news that lasts

By Thulani Davis

There isn't a lot of pleasure in the way hard times are good for protest singers like Sweet Honey in the Rock. There is resignation, because the old songs are still true, and so much more material happens every day. But Sweet Honey is a fine group, and the new LP *Good News* is just that.

Sweet Honey is a way of life, a way of being in the world with more than death, taxes and your personal problems. It's a way of life that has been torn down and beaten back like wild grass time and time again—by design and by negligence. But it has a certain clarity that is life-breathing, celebratory. That it comes back is only as surprising as hearing ancient lyrics come out your mouth when people around you start to sing. Sweet Honey sings songs that have in different moments outlined the shape of divided towns, or the pieces of flesh shed from the body that has a will to be free. In the tradition of protest, their songs give the details and hard facts. In the tradition of spirituals and gospel, they bury the dead and heal the living. Sweet Honey is what's growing in everybody's backyard today—news that never went away.

Good News, unlike their previous LPs and their live performances, which blend traditional materials familiar and not so well-known with original work written by the group, is all new. While Bernice Reagon's line in "On Death," "I see you coming but I can't go nowhere," rings back to that first encounter with the terrifying simplicity of spiri-

tuals, the joyous jibe on "Biko," "Hey-hey whatcha gon do with Biko Biko Biko," turns the threat on its heel. When they say "You can break one human body," you know it'll be hard to break (or as Reagon moaned in one of their older pieces, a modern love song, "I won't crumble if you fall"). Sweet Honey always makes it seem that to be frail and human is no reason not to be invincible—it's the kind of faith you can wish on your mama or your best friends.

Sumptuous sound.

Those friends can look very bored when you pull out a Sweet Honey record, though. Having dropped the instrumentation after the first LP, Sweet Honey has been limited by a cappella, which is more conducive to traditional quartets than to pop or jazz material. Fast gospel like "Lord Keep Me Day by Day," on which Yasmeen Williams took an inspired Mavis-Labell solo at the Bottom Line, is as funky as it gets.

But they are experimenting and the work they have done with poetry by June Jordan gives a glimmer of where it could go. The Jordan poems on *Good News* set the shape of the music. "Alla That's All Right, But" is all rock'n'roll: "But what I need is quite specific/terrifying rough stuff and terrific/I need an absolutely one to one/A seven-day kiss—help me now." It brought the house down because it is fun, and we need that too. Although their first LP had a couple of love songs on it, they seemed to abandon them on the second and in recent concerts. But *Good News* ends with a seven-day kiss

and the ballad "Sometime," a quiet reversal of Verta Mae Grosvenor's "I wanna be your sometime til your always come."

Sweet Honey's sound is unique because women's a cappella singing is a rarity, but unlike similar male groups, they don't really show off their stuff. Their music still depends a great deal on Reagon's rather sumptuous, Odetta-like folk voice—she is the forceful, often ponderous center. Evelyn Harris at the high end and Ysaye Barnwell on the bottom provide the signature textures and rhythm that mark all their work. Yasmeen Williams and Aisha Halil give the sound body, and in William's case, soul. But even on *Good News*, where they're free to depart from the unisons and four-parts of traditional forms, communal unison singing prevails. Even their solos evoke the



With a cappella songs Sweet Honey in the Rock evokes the sister in the choir.

Sweet Honey in the Rock always makes it seem that to be frail and human is no reason not to be invincible.

nameless sister in the choir who just stands up and belts it from the heart.

The simplicity of the lyrics, written for the most part by Reagon, makes them seem timeless. "Good News," which is an old song, has new lyrics here, but it's in the tradition. When they sing "If you had lived during the days of Paul Robeson/would you live his life...Where were you when

they killed Malcolm..." there is still an echo of "Were you there when they crucified my Lord?" And there is *deja vu* to a song like "Paycheck," written by Ysaye Barnwell: "We bring home more than a paycheck to our loved ones and family." Barnwell rhymes a list of carcinogens, punctuated by funny coughs, as this health hazards song goes on.

Sweet Honey does seem to

cover all the bases. As my friend pointed out, abortion is the only subject affecting women that the group didn't touch on—but they perform with such intimidating seriousness you just don't think to question them.

Good News, which was recorded live, captures for the first time some of this absorbing effect they have in concert. Previous LPs have been marred by poor production that simply did not give a hint of their tonal richness or their dedication to the purity of their forms. The balance of tunes and the raps also let on that they are having fun. That wild stuff growing out back sounds mighty good this time. ■

Thulani Davis writes for the *Village Voice*, where an earlier version of this article appeared.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Paul Ginger.

BROOKLYN, NY

May 1

A celebration of May Day featuring music, dancing, games, food and drink will be held by the Brooklyn Chapter of Democratic Socialists of America (formerly DSOC/NAM) and friends at the home of Gordon and Rachel Haskell, 50 Cheever Place, from 7 p.m. 'till ?, on Saturday. Admission is only \$5. For further information and directions, call Sy Posner at (212) 783-3940 or (212) 488-3054.

CHICAGO, IL

May 1

An Evening of Solidarity with Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and the Freedom Fighters of Central America and the Caribbean. With: Vernon Bellecourt, AIM; Victor Rubio, FDR; representatives: Casa Nicaragua; Grenada Revolutionary League; Palestine Liberation Organization; Socialist Workers Party; others. Music. Social Hour, 6:30 p.m., rally 7:30 p.m. Shiloh Missionary Baptist Church, 4840 S. Dorchester, Chicago.

Information: Midwest SWP branches. Auspices: Young Socialist Alliance.

May 4

Meet Nora Sayre, former film critic for the *New York Times* and author of *Running Time: Films of the Cold War*, at Guild Books' new location, 2456 N. Lincoln Ave. Tuesday from 5-7:00 p.m. Call (312) 525-3667 for more information.

May 16

New Jewish Agenda-Chicago Chapter will present Arthur Liebman, Professor of Sociology SUNY-Binghamton and author of the book *Jews and the Left* lecturing on "The Jewish Radical Tradition." Sunday, 2:00 p.m. at the Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams, Chicago. For information call Stan Rosen at (312) 996-2623. Donation requested.

BALTIMORE, MD

May 4

Salmon Show (see New York Calendar listing). 8 p.m. Glass Pavillion, Johns Hopkins University.

SEATTLE, WA

May 7-8

Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) present "Taking Back the Cities," an Urban Politics Conference, at Seattle University. Will feature Mayors Gus Newport of Berkeley and Mike Rotkin of Santa Cruz, as well as regional energy, labor and develop-

ment activists. For more information: DSA, 105 NW 77th, Seattle, WA 98117, (206) 783-3290.

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

May 8

Conference: "Advancing Union Democracy Cause"; 9:00 a.m.-6:30 p.m., St. Stephens School, 2123 Clinton Ave., \$3.00. Speakers from: Action Center Union Democracy; Benson, Fox, Schneider, Association for Union Democracy. Write 215 Park Ave. South, NYC 10003. Phone (212) 473-0606.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 8

Salmon Show (see New York Calendar listing). 8 p.m. All-Souls Church, 16th St. and Harvard St., NW.

ANN ARBOR, MI

May 12-16

Extending workplace democracy. A residential school for union members and leaders interested in quality of worklife, quality circles and other worker-participation programs. Workshops will cover analysis and implementation from a union perspective. For information, call John Beck or Andree Naylor at U of MI Labor Studies Center (313) 764-0492.

May 23-27

Workers' Culture School to uncover the wealth of information about workers and their work and to express this knowledge creatively. Workshops: Poetry,

Literature, Drama, Visual Arts, Song, Oral History, Folklore. Field trips. Performances. For information: Program on Workers' Culture, U of MI, 108 Museums Annex, 48109 (313) 764-6395.

BOSTON, MA

May 13

"Bats, Balls, and Dollar Bills," a slide show on the history and politics of American sports, followed by a talk with Bob Katz, founder of Fans for Control of Sports and Louis Kampf, professor at MIT, will be held at 8 p.m. at the Workmen's Circle, 1762 Beacon St., Brookline. Information: Democratic Socialists of America, (617) 426-9026.

PHILADELPHIA, PA

May 15

"Getting to Know You" reception for local/regional citizen activists. Temple University Center City, 1616 Walnut (23rd floor), 2-5 p.m. Reservation deadline May 8. Information: Concerned Citizens of the Delaware Valley (Harry Hyde), Box 47, Bryn Mawr, PA 19010.

NEW YORK, NY

May 20

Michael Harrington, Chair of Democratic Socialists of America, will present the "Democratic Socialist Alternative to Reaganomics" on Thursday at 7:30 p.m. at St. Johns St. Matthew Emmanuel Lutheran Church Community Center, 415 7th St. For further information contact Sy Posner at (212) 783-3940 or (212) 488-3054. \$2 donation requested.

Refreshments will be served during and after the meeting.

May 22

Salmon Show with Bob Carroll. Academic Freedom Benefit for Bertell Ollman in his suit against University of Maryland. 8 p.m., Schimmel Auditorium, Tisch Hall (NYU), 40 W. 4th St. \$10 donation (\$4 for students and unemployed).

BOONE, IA

May 28-31

The 7th Annual Midwest Radical Therapy Conference will take place at Camp Hantessa in Boone, Iowa. Theme: "Using Radical Therapy for Social Change." Workshops and speakers on Radical Therapy, the draft, racism, sexism, the anti-nuclear struggle, networking and community-building and many more. Cost includes: food, lodging and child-care. Registration is \$75.00 in advance and \$85.00 on site. Write: Midwest Radical Therapy Conference, P.O. Box 521, Madison, WI 53701 or call Max at (608) 255-1448.

NORTHAMPTON, MA

June 21-July 2

Conference: "The Crisis in Hegemony: Reconstructing a Left Public." Sponsors: *Social Text*, *New Political Science*, Marxist Literary Group. Sessions/room/board, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. Info/registration, c/o Doris Sommer, Amherst College, Amherst 01002; (413) 542-2396.

Shelters

Continued from page 16

Some reforms have recently been written into the law, including less generous abatements for conversions, and tax breaks for owners of SRO's who want to upgrade them but keep them as hotels. Messinger says she doesn't know of any hotel owner who is doing that, though. It's still much more profitable to convert.

New wave homeless.

Unemployment has also added to the ranks of the homeless. A survey taken recently at a shelter on the Bowery found that almost one in four of the men questioned were there because they had lost a job and run out of money. Their average age was 36, many were black or Hispanic and most were unskilled.

Some, laid off elsewhere, had come to the city looking for work, only to be disappointed. Others were the last hired and first fired from local factories and sweatshops. Many said they simply had given up looking for work.

"They are perhaps the most tragic wave of homeless," said Robert Hayes, "because they have able bodies and sound minds."

The shelters do almost nothing to ease their desperation. They are little more than big rooms where the seriously disturbed mingle with the down-on-their-luck, where the old and vulnerable are often preyed upon by the young and angry. According to Kim Hopper and Ellen Baxter, who co-authored a two-year study of New York's homeless, the shelters are often so understaffed that crime and suffering are overlooked or ignored. Hopper tells of seeing a man with open stab wounds mop-

ping the bathroom in one men's shelter.

Advocates for the homeless say emergency shelters are only a first step and a far from perfect one. What is needed is a permanent system of housing for troubled people—small shelters for emergencies, group residences for those who need supervision, and well-run low-cost hotels and rooming houses.

A few small private residences for the homeless exist in New

York, operating on a non-profit basis and providing social services. The St. Francis Residence on the east side of Manhattan is considered a model because its operating expenses—\$6 per person a night, less than half the cost in the public shelters—are fully paid for by its 99 tenants' Social Security and welfare checks. The Franciscan priests who run the residence tried recently to buy a building from the city to open a second home.

According to Ellen Baxter, the Franciscans offered the city \$800,000 for the building. But the same city officials who are so quick to give millions in tax write-offs to wealthy developers, would not give the St. Francis Friends of the Poor a break. They said they could get \$200,000 more from another buyer, Baxter said, and turned the clergy-men down.

Mary Ellen Schoonmaker is a New York journalist.

by Nicole Hollander

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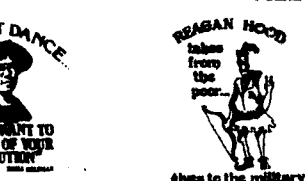
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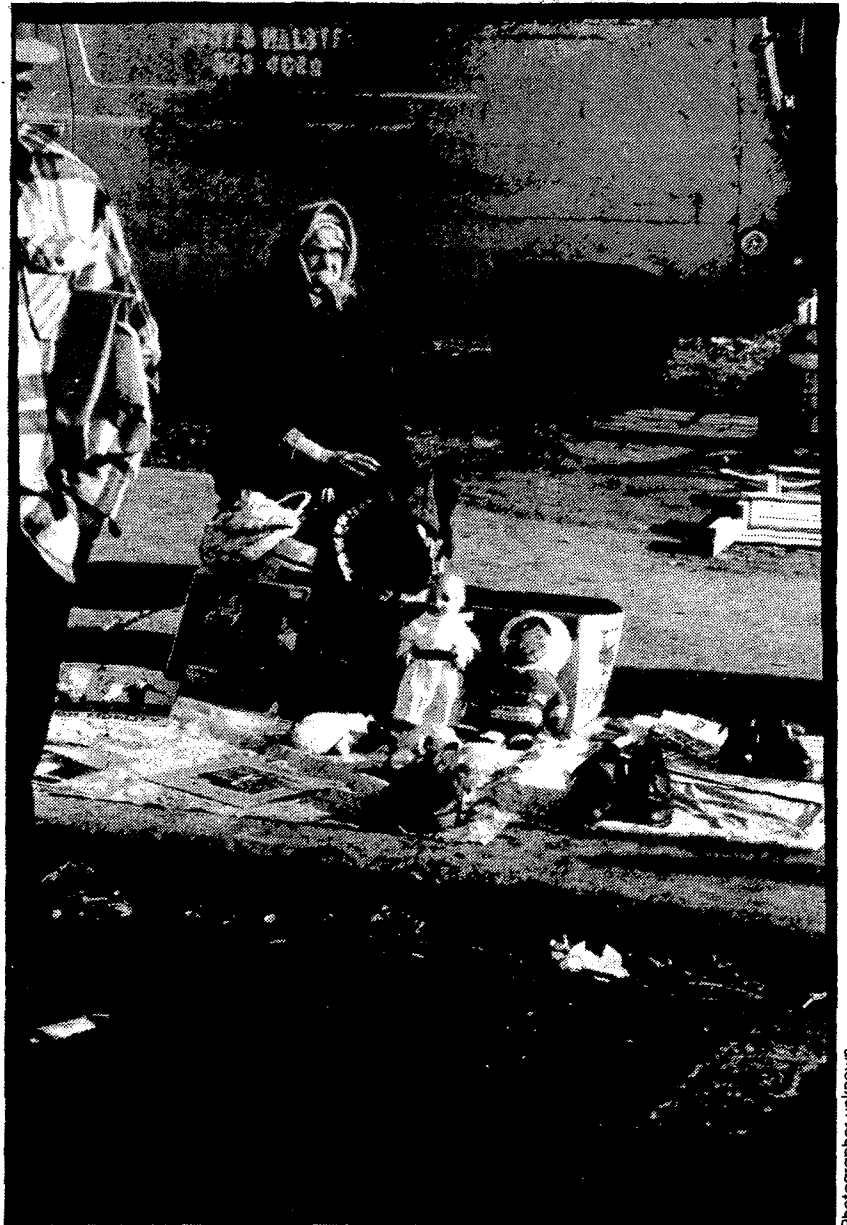


As the numbers of street people grow in our major cities, government policies are making it tougher for them.



By Mary Ellen Schoonmaker

Home, *Home on the curb*



Photographer unknown

NEW YORK

Bob Callahan, just another Bowery bum to most people, was found dead on Spring Street in Manhattan's Soho District in October, 1980. He had lived and died on the street, like countless other homeless men and women in New York.

But Callahan was different. He had given his name the year before to a class action suit filed on behalf of six homeless men against Gov. Hugh Carey and Mayor Ed Koch. *Callahan v. Carey* charged that the city and state had failed to provide the men with safe, clean, adequate shelter.

By the time his attorney, Robert Hayes, had won the case in New York Supreme Court last August, Callahan was dead at 54 and three of the other plaintiffs had disappeared. But the case is a landmark effort to compel reluctant government officials to assume responsibility for the troubled.

The suit obliged the city to abide by its own charter and the state by its own constitution, which both promise to provide shelter to the needy. Hayes argued in court that not only were there not enough beds for the city's estimated 30,000 homeless men, but also that conditions at the few existing public shelters were so horrible that many people were staying away for fear of being robbed, assaulted or worse.

As a result, a couple of armories were opened to homeless men this winter, along with an unused school, where the men sleep on cots in huge barren rooms. One shelter in northern Manhattan was opened for 50 men, but soon had 500

each night. About 3,500 men are sheltered altogether.

Now Hayes is back in court. On February 24, he filed a similar class action suit on behalf of four homeless women, including one who lives in Grand Central Station. City officials dispute the suit's estimate of 6,000 homeless women in New York, and claim no woman seeking a bed is turned away. But Hayes says conditions at the four public shelters for women are dangerous, overcrowded and inhuman. About 70 women in an armory in Queens share three toilets and one shower.

Out in the cold.

Hayes recently left his job as a securities lawyer to devote full time to what he feels is a growing national issue. The three major causes of homelessness in New York—the dumping of mental patients, the disappearance of cheap housing and high unemployment—are having the same effects elsewhere, he says. Chicago has an estimated 8,000 people homeless; Los Angeles, 7,500; and Washington, D.C., more than 6,000.

"The problem is growing," Hayes said. "One church in Denver opened its doors recently, and now has 400 men sleeping in the pews every night."

He has already had inquiries from people in 30 to 40 cities, and some of them are considering similar class action suits.

Until the court ordered them to act, New York City and state officials had done little more than blame each other for the problem. Neither the mayor nor the governor started the policies that have pushed people to the fringes of life, but they have done much to reinforce them.

Take "dumping," shorthand for the de-institutionalization of mental patients in the '60s and '70s. With the first widespread prescription of tranquilizers, it was believed patients could be released successfully. The catch was that it wouldn't work without continuing treatment in the community, in a stable, safe setting.



Frozen out.



With the help of a city law that grants generous tax breaks to developers, SRO hotels have become prime targets for conversion into luxury apartments and their tenants prime targets for eviction tactics that sometimes border on terrorism. By granting tax exemptions and abatements for up to 20 years, the law, known as "J-51," essentially reimburses developers for up to 90 percent of the cost of renovation.

In 1975, there were 290 SRO hotels in New York, with rooms under \$50 a week. Now there are about 120. In the interim, about 36,000 SRO rooms have disappeared, at least half of them tied directly to J-51 conversions. Their vulnerable tenants have been frozen out, burned out, locked out and threatened with guns, hammers and vicious dogs.

According to City Councilwoman Ruth Messinger, who represents the Upper West Side, many have ended up on the street as a result. "There's no question about it," she said. "A lot of them have emotional problems to begin with, and then their possessions are scattered to the wind."

Messinger believes the law has cost the city half a billion dollars in past and future uncollected taxes, to say nothing of the personal suffering it has virtually underwritten. Tony Postiglione, just about the only landlord to be thrown in jail for the way he evicted tenants from his SRO this winter—alleged break-ins, lock-outs, vandalism and death threats—had received \$1.5 billion in tax abatements from the Koch administration.

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